Daily Report

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Zhulali To Accept Kosovars in Case of Conflict

AU1303155593 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Defense Minister Safet Zhulali held a news conference this morning at the Army Cultural Center with reporters from foreign agencies who had just finished inspecting our northern borders.

Asked about the possible results of NATO Secretary General Woerner's visit to Albania, Zhulali replied that this visit is considered to be of special importance for us and will mark the highest level of our affinity with NATO, which is now a reality. The minister further said that morally we feel like a member, but the actual approval of the judicial acts would be completely favorable for us. The affinity of our country with NATO is not unilateral. Not only do we feel close to NATO, but we hope that NATO also feels near to Albania.

Asked about the size of the Albanian Army staff, the defense minister answered that the Albanian Army is presently smaller than it ever has been before. The same can be said for the number of officers—6,000 of whom have been released as a result of reform in the army.

Zhulali later said that we are developing a fruitful cooperation with several states, especially in educating our officers in the military schools of Turkey, Italy, Germany, and the United States. Turkey has so far been more engaged in this endeavor. Fifty people are presently attending training courses in Turkish schools. That number is expected to increase soon. Zhulali said that we have no prejudices toward the countries and will continue to send our people when and where this opportunity is offered to us.

Asked about the preparations of the Albanian Army in case of a conflict in Kosovo, Minister Zhulali answered that such a conflict would extremely concern us. In this framework, our army is increasing its efficiency through continuous training. We are not making any special preparations for war, but we aim to keep it away from Albania and Kosovo as far as possible. This would be the greatest service to the homeland and Albanian territories in Kosovo. In case of a conflict and an intensification of violence, pursuit, and ethnic cleansing by Serbia, we would open our borders to accept our Kosovar brothers as refugees. Nevertheless, it is still early to think about what other specific and organizational measures we will undertake in case of such a situation.

In response to a question on the possibility of including Kosovars in our army, Zhulali said that our army is based on clearly defined legislation that only accepts citizens of the Republic of Albania.

Zhulali later answered other questions regarding the present military doctrine of the Albanian Army, Defense Ministry relations with Greece, cooperation with NATO, etc.

In conclusion, Zhulali said that we will be an open country and will provide any kind of information and express our conviction that this information will be properly and exactly reflected.

Zhulali Says Military Industry Must Adjust

AU1603085693 Tirana ATA in English 0907 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 15 (ATA)—Safet Zhulali, minister of defence, escorted by General Lieutenant Ilia Vasho, chief of the general staff of the army, and a group of specialists of this ministry went to Polican to observe the fulfilment of the demands of the trade unions of this city.

Mr. Zhulali instructed the officials of the plant to create good working conditions in some special workshops. The foreign businessmen who have come in Polican are pleased with the discipline and quality of work, said he. This is a good example to all the other enterprises of the army.

Like many other military plants in the world, in Polican, too, some workshops will convert military production into civil. It will keep producing for the needs of defence, which is a permanent task. Military industry too, said he, should adjust to the market economy.

Mr. Zhulali said that the instruction of President Berisha must be applied, that is every family in Polican should have at least one employed because this is the sole means of livelihood for the whole city. He said that an amount of 1.2 million dollars were Allocated to this plant to continue work. This was done upon the concern of President Berisha.

The representatives of the two trade unions were pleased that their requests are on the way to solution and said that they will support the government and will keep forwarding requests to it.

Mr. Zhulali said that presently the people of Polican are calm and are sure of the future. This shows that Polican supports the reform and the democratic government. This is an encouragement to the presidnt, the government and the ministry of defence. Speaking of the reform Mr. Zhulali said that it would be a tragedy if the specialists are removed on political grounds. The specialists is like a golden fund and runs production. In this context the specialists must be considered a national asset, he said. In closing he also focused on the situation in the region and the very good relations of the Albanian army with NATO.

The two trade unions and the department of this establishment expressed their desire to have President Berisha among the people of Polican. Back in Tirana, Mr. Zhulali conveyed the invitation to the president. Mr. Berisha accepted the invitation with pleasure.

Government To Focus on Reducing Budget Deficit

AU1603092393 Tirana ATA in English 0914 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 15 (ATA)—The state budget deficit for 1993 is envisaged to be 23 billion leks. The reduction of this deficit is one of the objectives of the Meksi government which inherited a ruined economy and a complete stagnation. The standby agreement which the government has signed with the IMF for July 1, 1992-July 1, 1993 also serves this end. The main goal of this agreement is to reduce budget deficit. The first 6 months (July-December 1992) envisaged a deficit of 6.4 billion leks or 19 per cent of the national domestic product of which 5.4 billion or 16.1 per cent of the national product could be financed by the banking domestic credits.

The successful observation of this objective helped control inflation in economy and reduce it from 47.5 per cent in August 1992 to about 1.3 per cent in December 1992 and 4.5 per cent in January this year. As a result, the state budget deficit amounted to 15 per cent of the national product which was entirely financed by the domestic banking credit. Despite this substantial reduction of the state budget deficit which compared to the defict of the first 6 months of the year was 50 per cent lower, further efforts are required to reduce it. This is the main means to reduce inflation and today it is the most important factor which opens way for the economic improvement of the country.

As it turns out from the hitherto proceeding, it was the control on the state budget deficit which influenced in the further reduction of inflation. In 1993 which covers the second phase of the agreement, this state budget deficit is planned to amount to 22 per cent of the national product. This also requires that all measures be adopted to increase income and control expenditures. These objectives also coincide with the medium-term economic program. The government envisages to draft an agreement with the world bank and IMF for a period including the years 1994, 1995 and 1996. The aim of this program is that the Albanian economy undergo structural changes.

Over 80,000 State Apartments To Be Privatized

AU1603081493 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Tirana, March 15 (ATA)—In implementation of the economic reform, over 80,000 state apartments will be privatized in Tirana. To this end, special working groups have been set up in 11 administrative centers of the municipality of Tirana. They are taking all measures to carry out this task.

The commission of the homes privatizations has been set up in the municipality. It is examining this process and defining the measures to accelerate the procedures of privatization. Due to the measures adopted, this process will start within March this year.

Berov Dismisses Telecommunications Chief

AU1503185493 Sofia BTA in English 1627 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—Prime Minister Lyuben Berov today told reporters he would dismiss the Chairman of the Posts and Telecommunications Committee Stefan Sofiyanski. According to him, Mr. Sofiyanski proved disloyal to the cabinet, taking part last week in an antigovernment rally held by the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS).

On taking office late last December, Mr. Berov said incumbent committee and department bosses pleased him completely and he did not plan to change staff.

Despite Mr. Sofiyanski, the government is expected to sack Aleksandur Bozhkov, executive director of the Privatization Agency, whom Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev has sharply criticized lately. [sentence as received].

Berov Says There Will Not Be Early Elections

AU1603081293 Sofia BULGARSKA TELEVIZIYA Television Network in Bulgarian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov by Sevda Shishmanova; place not given—live]

[Text] [Shishmanova] Good evening. Professor Berov, do you believe there is a two-month period within which the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] was planning to overthrow the government and proceed toward elections?

[Berov] Everyone is free to make what declarations he wants to. However, to what extent such declarations are true and whether they can achieve anything is another matter. We shall see.

[Shishmanova] Nevertheless, is it not a fact that the Neftokhim company is engaging in protest strike actions as of today, and the SDS has threatened to use certain trade unions in the struggle against your cabinet?

[Berov] I can only tell you: We shall see.

[Shishmanova] Does this mean that from now on you intend in all circumstances to be firmly loyal toward the major trade unions that are part of the Tripartite Council for Cooperation with the Government?

[Berov] You should not ask about my loyalty toward the trade unions, the problem is whether the trade unions will be loyal to the government.

[Shishmanova] Do you consider your invitation to Simeon [former King of Bulgaria] to become foreign minister a blunder?

[Berov] I must stress once again that this remark was intended as a joke. Yes, I did say that Simeon Borisov, if he really feels Bulgarian and if he wishes to come to his country to work as a an ordinary Bulgarian—and I deliberately emphasize the word "ordinary"—and if he considers himself a Bulgarian like all Bulgarians who are present here, he is free to come here and do whatever he likes. He could even be a candidate for the post of foreign minister, which is vacant, as long as parliament approves him, of course.

[Shishmanova] Will you relieve Mr. Stefan Sofiyanski [chairman of the Post and Telecommunications Committee] of his post?

[Berov] Yes, when an appropriate decision is adopted.

[Shishmanova] Will this decision be prompted by political considerations?

[Berov] We had a very serious talk with Mr. Stefan Sofiyanski. I told him he could go wherever he wants, also to rallies. No one would prevent him from doing so. Nevertheless, to be at the rostrum of a rally whose purpose is to express antigovernment intentions shows a lack of elementary loyalty. He is a high-ranking civil servant, after all.

[Shishamanova] I ask myself in this case, what are your criteria for the loyalty of your cabinet members?

[Berov] The criteria are unmistakable. Loyalty means that one should not participate in such antigovernment actions. If one goes to such a demonstration, or attends it, it is an act of disloyalty toward the government.

[Shishmanova] Will there be a (?cabinet crisis)?

[Berov] No, there will be no such thing. If you believe in it as I believe in God, it is another matter.

[Shishmanova] There will be no vote?

[Berov] No, even if some people greatly regret it.

[Shishmanova] We shall remember this. After all this, that two-month deadline is elapsing.

[Berov] There is still time until tonight.

Berov Position on Macedonian Issue Criticized

AU1603103993 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 13-14 Mar 93 p 8

[Commentary by Boyko Pangelov: "Insult for Macedonia"]

[Text] Prime Minister Lyuben Berov's consent to the position that the issue of the name of the Republic of Macedonia should be resolved by international arbitration is an insult for the people of this sovereign state. Thus the opinion of the Bulgarian prime minister apparently coincides with the official Greek position.

The fact that it was proposed that the determining of the "name" should be done through UN arbitration is not significant. This is the same as repeating the revival process, and allowing an international commission that

does not have a clue as to what the Bulgarian population is to determine the names of Ahmed and Sherife.

Until now Sofia's principled position was that the population of this former Yugoslav Republic, with whom President Zhelev converses without a translator, must determine the name of its state.

What prompted Prime minister Berov to agree with the position of the Greek Prime Minister about Macedonia's name? What did Mr. Mitsotakis, whose days as prime minister are numbered, promise in exchange?

Berov, Mitsotakis Confirm 'Shared Position' on Macedonia

AU1303144993 Sofia BTA in English 2043 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 12 (BTA)—Bulgaria and Greece would accept any name given to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia by decision of an international court of arbitration which its people would accept. Bulgarian Prime Minister Lyuben Berov voiced this shared position of the two countries at a joint news conference which he held today together with the Greek prime minister, Mr. Konstandinos Mitsotakis, who is paying a two-day official visit to Sofia.

The two prime ministers stressed their shared position that the conflict in the former Yugoslavia should be resolved by peaceful means and that the Balkan countries should not participate, neither directly nor indirectly, in any military operations.

Asked to specify Bulgaria's position on the name of Macedonia, the Bulgarian prime minister said: "Bulgaria was the first country to recognize Macedonia's independence together with the name it had chosen. The question concerning Macedonia's name was not so sharply raised at that time. Seeing that this name creates considerable difficulties for both the republic itself, and the entire Balkans, we would now accept any name which its people chooses by the consent of arbitrators, whom it recognizes as legitimate."

Asked what could happen if Macedonia continues to insist on that name, the Greek prime minister said: "Then, it would be isolated from the international community." He does not see any threats to peace in the Balkans since Macedonia's neighbour countries have all guaranteed its borders politically.

The two prime ministers discussed the opportunity for Greece and Bulgaria to provide economic aid to Macedonia.

* * *

Bulgaria and Greece today signed an agreement on the reciprocal protection of investments. Earlier in the day today, the Greek deputy minister of national economy, Mr. Aristidhis Tsiplakos, conferred with Mr. Valentin Karabashev, Bulgarian deputy prime minister in charge of the economy. The sides discussed Bulgarian-Greek trade and economic relations.

Bulgarian businessmen who are interested to cooperate with Greek companies met with Greek business executives of Prime Minister Mitsotakis' accompanying party at the Bulgarian Chamber of Industry and Commerce today. The Greek businessmen, representing companies of the food-processing, textile, tailoring, and construction industries, posed specific question concerning the opportunities to relax the trade relations between the two neighbour countries.

Debt Talks With IMF Representative Resume

AU1503204193 Sofia BTA in English 1623 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—Structural adjustment and financial stabilization are essential in effecting the reforms in this country, according to Bulgarian Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev and Mr. Russel Kincaid, leader of a visiting International Monetary Fund mission, who held talks today. Mr. Kincaid arrived here last Saturday to negotiate on a new arrangement between Bulgaria and the fund. Some members of the IMF team came Friday [12 March] and held talks Finance Ministry and the Central Bulgarian National Bank officials.

This week IMF officials will draft a letter of intent, seeking to balance between the structural reform and financial stabilization, it was reported after today's meeting. According to Mr. Kincaid, these should go hand in hand.

The talks were attended by the Minister of Finance Stoyan Aleksandrov and World Bank resident representative John Wilton.

Turkish Ambassador Praises Military Cooperation

AU1503192293 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 10 Mar 93 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Turkish Ambassador Yalcin Oral by Lieutenant Colonel Vladi Vladkov; place and date not given: "Turkish-Bulgarian Military Relations Are Exemplary"]

[Text] [Vladkov] Mr. Ambassador, would you like to introduce yourself and say something about your diplomatic career?

[Oral] Thank you. I was born in Istanbul in 1939. I have served as a diplomat for 30 years in Switzerland, Bulgaria, the United States, Iran, Canada, and again, Bulgaria. I have been the ambassador here since 1989.

[Vladkov] You were one of the first ambassadors to meet with Defense Minister Aleksandrov. Why do you think the meeting took place?

[Oral] Defense Minister Aleksandrov is a highly esteemed official who I have known for a long time. He contributed considerably to improving military relations between Bulgaria and Turkey. It was a pleasure to visit him, congratulate him on his appointment as minister of defense, and express my best wishes. During the visit we touched upon various issues of cooperation and contacts.

[Vladkov] Military diplomacy between the two countries is developing rapidly, and in certain areas it even leaves conventional diplomacy behind. Certain NATO representatives express amazement with the practical results Bulgaria and Turkey have achieved in military matters. Could you comment on this issue?

[Oral] I also am happy with the fact that military diplomacy is leaving conventional diplomacy behind in the process of developing Bulgarian-Turkish relations. I have always defended the necessity of developing military contacts directly. I believe that the parties who make such contacts will discover excellent qualities in each other, understand each other better, and establish close contacts and cooperation under conditions of mutual confidence. I am proud that my philosophy has been confirmed.

Personally, I do not find anything amazing in the results Turkey and Bulgaria have achieved in military matters. If we achieve what is truly natural and correct, it will be possible to achieve even more impressive results soon. Today relations between Turkey and Bulgaria really are exemplary, especially in the military area. I think that this example will be developed considerably. I believe that the scheduled visit of the Turkish defense minister will contribute to consolidating the situation.

[Vladkov] Could you comment on the 1992 Sofia document and the Edirne document which has been in effect since January 1993—two documents which regulate relations between our military institutions?

[Oral] Those documents, which were adopted to strengthen security and confidence between our countries, envision openness and candor between our Armed Forces and the organization of troop deployment, a delicate military issue, through the exchange of information, monitoring data, and cooperation. In this sense, the Sofia document, which is more advanced than the measures included in the Vienna document within the context of the CSCE, and the Edirne document, which is further development of the Sofia document, are practical proof that an atmosphere of confidence has been established between Bulgaria and Turkey. The documents also have a special importance because they are unique examples of cooperation in the military area between a country of the former Eastern bloc and a NATO member.

[Vladkov] How do you see the future of Turkish-Bulgarian relations?

[Oral] I see the future of Turkish-Bulgarian relations very positively. My conviction is based on the following objective criteria: As far as bilateral relations are concerned, it is very difficult to find a state in our region with whom relations are so devoid of problems to compare with Bulgaria. The two governments, intellectuals, and broad masses well understand the realities and believe in the necessity of developing good relations. The Turkish and Bulgarian people have many common characteristics, the most important being that they do not have negative feelings for each other. Both countries strive to implement their common goal—integration in Europe. Regardless of the present stagnation in Balkan cooperation, our striving toward integration in Europe and the rapidly developing Black Sea economic cooperation are areas in which our countries make joint efforts and cooperate. In addition, our political, economic, military, cultural, and humanitarian relations are developing rapidly. Turkey supports Bulgarian efforts for democratization and economic reforms. It is obvious that in such an atmosphere it is more than geography prompting Turkey and Bulgaria toward their natural rapport. Structural and other factors also are involved. Personally, I believe from the bottom of my heart that our relations, which develop in an atmosphere based on understanding, mutual confidence, respect, cooperation, and solidarity, will continue to develop in the future in the same manner.

SDS Conference Denounces Berov, Calls for New Elections

AU1503081393 Sofia BTA in English 2216 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Report by Evgeniya Drumeva: "SDS Will Pursue Elections as the Only Means To Return to Power"]

[Text] Sofia, March 14 (BTA)—The Fifth National Conference of the anticommunist Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), which ended late this evening, showed the SDS will pursue early elections as the only means to return to power. The SDS openly declared its negative attitude towards the cabinet headed by Lyuben Berov, an independent, which was formed in late December on the mandate of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) and was elected by the MP's [members of parliament] of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and breakaway MP's of the SDS. The present cabinet's policy was said to be aimed at restoration. The SDS categorically called for the resignation of the president, elected a year ago in a direct election on the SDS ballot-paper. According to the delegates to the conference, the president is exceeding his constitutional powers and is disuniting the nation. The SDS won the October 1991 elections by a slim margin. Several MP's left the parliamentary SDS and now the coalition sees early elections, provoked by lawful means, as the only way to come to power again. The SDS will not accept ministerial portfolios in a cabinet elected by the present parliament but it will support its representatives at the lower levels of the central administration.

The SDS declared its views in a resolution adopted by the conference. It stresses that the SDS stands firm in its anticommunist orientation.

Former Finance Minister Ivan Kostov said today the conference took a strategic decision that the SDS should prepare for elections, now the SDS top leadership, the National Coordinating Council, should take a tactical decision about the way to provoke them.

SDS leaders told this reporter that early elections may be provoked when the 1993 Budget Bill is put to the vote. It should be submitted to parliament by the end of March. Now there are sharp disputes among cabinet ministers who have planned unreasonably large spendings. Ekaterina Mikhaylova, deputy floor leader of the SDS, told the press after the conference that a government actually gets a no-confidence vote if it fails to draft a budget or if the budget is voted down.

Zlatka Ruseva MP of the SDS said the parliamentary SDS would launch its election campaign in parliament.

Participants in the conference said yesterday the forum achieved its main goal as the coalition did not split and the delegates strongly supported the firm policy of the SDS leadership, headed by lawyer Filip Dimitrov, 37, for three years running. Sympathizers of the SDS standing in front of the building where the conference was held and delegates booed former Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev and MP's who had recently criticized Filip Dimitrov and the Coordinating Council, saying they had relinquished power. Stoyan Ganev, who was booed off the platform yesterday, said on national radio today he had wanted to say the SDS had made a major mistake by failing to effect a radical decommunization of society. He stated he was ready to resign from the leadership of the United Christian Democratic Centre if this would guarantee that the organization would remain affiliated to the SDS. According to the resolution, the Christian Democrats should voice their views on their leader and on the SDS.

A text in the resolution denounces political intrigues among SDS leaders without naming names.

There were heated disputes over problems with individual membership in the coalition. It was said that the SDS had failed to pursue a wise personnel policy. This led to a split in the parliamentary SDS, which had 106 members in 1991 as against 91 at present. The delegates voted a special text in the resolution, according to which former members of the Communist Party and members of the now disbanded State Security are not eligible for the SDS top leadership and the leadership of the local branches, they cannot run on the SDS lists and cannot be nominated for ministerial positions.

The Christian Agrarian Party, the Agrarian Union led by Anastasiya Mozer and the Business Block headed by George Ganchev were mentioned as possible allies of the SDS in early elections but the conference did not take a specific decision. The resolution lists as allies several trade union amalgamations which are not influential for the time being.

MP's who were expelled from or left the parliamentary SDS criticized the conference on radio and television today. Representatives of the Socialist Party and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, the former ally of the SDS in parliament, said they were not surprised at the decisions of the conference.

Dimitrov Speaks at SDS National Conference

AU1403143693 Sofia BTA in English 2100 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Report by Evgeniya Drumeva: "SDS National Conference: All Parties Favour Early Elections"]

[Text] Sofia, March 13 (BTA)—All parties of the coalition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) stated on the first day of the SDS National Conference the union should return to power through early parliamentary elections. Several parties called both for parliamentary and presidential elections. The SDS won the October 1991 election but it does not command a majority to form an all-SDS government. Initially, the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) supported the SDS but later on it overthrew the SDS cabinet with the support of the Socialist (ex-Communist) Party (BSP).

The conference, which is the coalition's highest forum, is attended by 1,400 delegates from across the country. Vice President Blaga Dimitrova is a guest at the conference. However, the first SDS leader, President Zhelyu Zhelev, is not attending it. For several months now relations have been strained between the SDS leaders and Zhelyu Zhelev, who was elected president on the SDS ballot.

SDS leader Filip Dimitrov said in his keynote address the union should seek a way to return to office. According to him, a cabinet crisis leading to elections could be provoked only if the Socialists decided to overthrow the cabinet headed by Lyuben Berov, formed on the DPS mandate and elected by the DPS and the BSP. Judging from today's statements, the SDS will not rely for its return to power either on its former partner in parliament, the DPS, or on the breakaway MP's [members of parliament] of the SDS.

The question of elections should mature in the SDS first, Filip Dimitrov stressed. Several days ago he told the press the SDS did not intend to provoke elections but since they were the logical outcome of the current political situation, the SDS should be ready for them. Mr. Dimitrov told the conference the coalition has allies among the anticommunist forces like the Bulgarian Agrarian Party led by Anastasiya Mozer, the Business Block headed by George Ganchev and monarchist organizations.

Filip Dimitrov drew applause for his speech. The delegates met with vehement disapproval and refused to listen to former Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev, leader of the United Christian Democratic Centre, who has been at odds with Filip Dimitrov for some time now.

Though the SDS leader was criticized recently for the union's fall from power, the coalition's policy won approval on the first day of the conference.

The delegates discussed intracoalition questions. The leaders of SDS affiliates stressed the coalition should be preserved but there were individual statements on the common electoral basis of the SDS. Yordan Vasilev, former leader of a SDS affiliate, who is still influential in it, proposed that tomorrow the conference elect directly the SDS top leadership. Though Filip Dimitrov said this was impossible because the SDS is a coalition, other delegates supported Yordan Vasilev's proposal.

Ecoglasnost, one of the first dissident organizations in Bulgaria, insisted that the conference call on President Zhelyu Zhelev to resign.

According to Stefan Savov, leader of the Democratic Party, tomorrow the conference will discuss specific questions, such as when and how to launch an election campaign.

Agrarian Leader Denies Agreement With SDS

AU1503102493 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 10 Mar 93 p 1

[Report by Ivelina Asyov: "Mozer's Agrarians Raised Price in Attempt To Press SDS"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] is conducting cooperation talks with all democratic forces, but its leadership has not signed a document on joining any coalition and does not have any agreement with anyone on this matter, Mrs. Mozer told PODKREPA. She said this in connection with Filip Dimitrov's statements made during his recent tour of the country, according to which the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] will appear in the elections with the united Agrarians and George Ganchev's Business Bloc. According to Mrs. Mozer, the former prime minister apparently meant that the SDS and BZNS have identical assessments and similar positions on many issues. In this sense, Mrs. Mozer's Agrarians would cooperate with all democratic forces. The Agrarians' leader did not elaborate any further. The united Agrarians reject the accusation that they are relying on the SDS again, as in the past when they used to rely on the Bulgarian Communist Party. "We are the force that attracts the others and on which they would like to rely," the Agrarians' spokesman said. However, the Agrarians' denials are rather slippery and create the impression that they actually pressed the SDS in order to sell their support for a higher price.

Socialist Leaders Exchange Accusations

AU1503111593 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Mar 93 pp 1, 8

[Report by Dora Chichkova: "Mutual Accusations of Incorrectness Exchanged in BSP"]

[Text] "Two conferences—one goal: toppling the government." This could be the result of the March forums of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], according to an analysis of the Association for Social Democracy [OSD] presented at a news conference given by the OSD on 10 March. According to Dimitur Yonchev, on Sunday [14 March] the SDS will adopt a line of more civilized anticommunism. According to him, this anticommunist line, which was also inherent in the newly established New Democracy, will be the axis of the struggle against the government.

According to the same analyst, if the BSP conference were to result in a line of ever more confused and limited support for the government and preparations for new elections, it would be a negative result. There is the firm conviction in the OSD that the most positive variant is continuing the positive support of Berov's cabinet and blocking the processes of crisis.

The tendency in the BSP to support Berov is mostly supported by the OSD, Rosen Karadimov said. According to him there is a common striving to disrupt the balance of forces and preserve the starting mechanism of the crisis in the hands of a small group within the BSP.

This fact was supported by the claim that people who did not support Berov's cabinet in December have been elected to the leadership of the BSP parliamentary faction. In addition, Zhan Videnov urged Berov to call for a vote of confidence in connection with the budget, a matter that has not been discussed in plenum or in the parliamentary faction. According to Yonchev, the call for a vote of confidence is a variant of demanding the cabinet's resignation.

Yonchev also said that current political momentum is more important than the program document, on which much time was wasted. According to him, in this context the question of whether the government is alive is more important than whether Marxism is alive.

The OSD decided to prepare its tactics for the conference in two directions—in anything related to the theoretical documents and political momentum. This was decided after a statement by Videnov at the last plenum, according to which the first item on the forum's agenda would be a report of the BSP chairman on the political situation in the country. Since it was not sure what Videnov was going to stress in his report, the entire attitude is viewed as incorrect by the OSD.

Not one of our members even knows the thesis of this political report, and for the time being there still is no

information as to whether the report will be discussed in plenum beforehand, Karadimov said.

In an immediate reaction, the Press Center of the BSP parliamentary faction described the statements made at the OSD news conference as completely unfounded and biased attacks against the BSP leaders.

The topic "Analysis and Assessment of the Political Situation in the Country and the BSP's Tasks" was determined as the first item on the agenda of the all-party conference on 12 September 1992 by a decision of the BSP Supreme BSP Council and the socialist deputies, the BSP parliamentary faction Press Center notes. A decision of the same forum of 31 January 1993 determined that Videnov will report on this issue. The Press Center also pointed out that no one has proposed alternative elaborations of the analysis of the political situation.

The Press Center also points out that the claim that BSP chairman Videnov proposed to the prime minister that he call for an appropriate vote of confidence in his cabinet without previous coordination does not correspond to the truth. This is a part of the position of the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy and the BSP Supreme Council adopted after a prolonged debate on 30 December. On the basis of this position the BSP Supreme Council Executive Committee instructed Videnov to announce the BSP position on the government's program in parliament. "This is needed not only by the government, but also by society, which has placed its confidence in the government. It will be a necessary, albeit serious test of responsibility and sincerity that the government must withstand in front of the voters, the basic political forces, and the trade unions," Videnov said in connection with the proposed vote of confidence, the Press Center points out.

Kozloduy Plant Performance Described as 'Satisfactory'

AU1503215093 Sofia BTA in English 2025 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—Units Two, Three, Four, Five and Six of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant operated at a capacity of 3,200 MW last week, generating over 50 per cent of electricity in this country, said the Power Engineering Committee.

Due to the warm weather, the average daily consumption last week dropped by 5 to 10 million KWH from the previous week. About 300 MW of electric energy came from hydroelectric power plants.

Bulgaria exported 140 MW of electricity to Greece and 200 MW to Macedonia last week.

According to the Power Engineering Committee, the satisfactory operation of the national grid made it possible to do scheduled or major repairs at some units of the thermal power stations. Household consumption is expected to decrease further due to the warm weather.

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A seminar on "Earthquake Probability Risk Analysis" for the Kozloduy N-plant, opened at the Committee for Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy today. It was organized by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and Risk-Engineering LTD.

Experts of IAEA will offer to their Bulgarian colleagues methods of seismic risk analysis and results of studies at Kozloduy by an international expert team.

Russia Agrees to Deliver Fuel for Plant

AU1503215493 Sofia BTA in English 2027 GMT 15 Mar 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—The Bulgarian delegation to the Economic Forum of the Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe, to be held on March 16 through 18 in Prague, will include representatives of the Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Trade, the Ministry of Industry and the Bulgarian Chamber of Industry and Commerce, the Press Office of the Foreign Ministry announced today. The document of the Bulgarian delegation focuses on the problems of Bulgaria's economy and foreign trade as well as on the process of Bulgaria's integration into the European structures. [passage ommited]

A delegation of the National Electricity Company (NEC) and Economic Bank, led by NEC Deputy Chairman Trifon Tsvetkov, returned from Moscow today, the National Radio reported. It negotiated the final details and controversial points of the draft agreement for Russian deliveries of nuclear fuel for the first four generating units of the Kozloduy N-plant (Northern Bulgaria). It also specified the deferred payment pattern with the participation of Economic Bank proposed by the Bulgarian side. It was agreed to start negotiations on the delivery of fuel for generating units Five and Six of the Kozloduy N-Plant. The Russian partners gave their conse t in principle for the deliveries of fuel to include the processing of the remains of the Bulgarian uranium concentrate. [passage omitted]

Cabinet Discusses Privatization Reform Projects

AU1503202493 Sofia BTA in English 1922 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Sofia, March 15 (BTA)—About 700 works of art of cultural and historical value stored at the former Communist Party headquarters will be transferred to the National History Museum, the cabinet decided today. The proposal was made by Marin Todorov, minister of education, science and culture.

Decisions about privatization will be taken by the executive director of the Privatization Agency instead of by its supervisory board in future, the Council of Ministers decided today.

The structure of the Privatization Agency was reformed. Several new departments will be set up. The largest of them, privatization projects, will be in charge of groups of units in different sectors. The transactions department will prepare the documents for privatization deals. All sales as well as the execution of contracts will be controlled by the after-privatization control department.

The cabinet will hold an extraordinary meeting on Saturday [20 March] to discuss privatization problems, said Privatization Agency Executive Director Aleksandur Bozhkov. The cabinet ministers will decide whether the privatization programme should be updated in line with the 1993 budget.

The cabinet will propose to the National Assembly to ratify the treaty for friendly relations and cooperation between Bulgaria and Poland.

The cabinet today laid down the principles which should be applied in the appointment of ambassadors, said Raycho Raykov, spokesman for the government.

Zhivkov May Give Evidence at German Trial

AU1303203293 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 6 Mar 93 p 1

[Report by 24 CHASA staff]

[Text] It is reported that 24 leaders of member countries of the dissolved Warsaw Pact, including Todor Zhivkov, may be called to give evidence before the Berlin court that is holding the trial of former GDR leaders charged in connection with the murders at the Berlin Wall. According to the defense, the former leaders would supposedly give evidence that East Germany did not decide alone to build the wall in 1961.

Defense, Finance Ministries Diverge on Spending Projections

AU1503191093 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 10 Mar 93 p 1

[Report by Evelina Koleva: "Army's Budget Expenditures Amount to 8.194 Billion Leva"]

[Text] The Finance Ministry "Financing Special Activities" Department thinks that the requirements for the current maintenance of the Army represent 38 percent of general defense expenditures, as reflected in the 1993 draft budget. Most of the amounts in the various categories show rather great discrepancies between the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Finance, or rather between their respective proposals. Thus for instance, while the Defense Ministry demands 4.88 billion leva for current expenditures, the Finance Ministry is prepared to allocate only 3.29 billion leva.

Overall, the Army's budgetary expenditures have increased 42 percent (last year 5.5 billion leva were envisioned and expenditures amounted to 5.676 billion leva, shile the general defense expenditures for 1993 are 8.194 billion leva). Despite the higher nominal amount, the military equipment issue has no chance of penetrating the finance barrier. Both the 1992 budget and the 1993 draft budget have the same amount—464 million leva—for material-technical supplies, however, it is alarming that the relative share of those expenditures is decreasing.

On the other hand, the relative share of unrepaired equipment, and faulty aircraft and helicopters, increases, the experts of the Finance Ministry admit. This creates problems in anything related to maintaining combat readiness and the use of the equipment. Last year the amount requested by the Ministry of Defense was cut by 2.2 billion leva, and if the Finance Ministry draft is adopted, this year the amount will be cut by more than 5 billion leva.

The IMF requires that defense expenditures be no more than 3.8 percent of GNP and that the amount must be cut annually. In 1990 the military budget was 3.66 percent of GNP, in 1991 2.8 percent, in 1992 2.69 percent, and in 1993 2.75 percent is projected.

The IMF also closely follows the investment program. Therefore, funds are allocated only for those projects which can be completed before the end of the year. While the Defense Ministry requests 558 million leva for capital investment, the Finance Ministry projects 135 million leva for this purpose. Housing construction in the Army will be an especially critical area. While some 200 million leva is requested by the Defense Ministry, the Finance Ministry is prepared to allocate only 15 million leva. In the final analysis it will be the Council of Ministers that decides whether the figures will be corrected.

Zieleniec: UN, Parliament To Decide on Troops for Bosnia

AU1503172493 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Mar 93 p 2

[Report by "(ben)": "Sending Troops to Bosnia is a Matter for the UN and Parliament"]

[Text] Prague—Any possible military intervention by international units in former Yugoslavia can be undertaken only by the decision of the UN, and not by a decision of individual countries, or military associations. This is how Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec reacted yesterday to a possible deployment of Czech troops in the Yugoslav conflict. "The international community, and each state, too, are looking for ways to put an end to the Yugoslav conflict. This is why the Czech Republic, as a UN member, must consider its own possibilities in order to be prepared to discuss various forms of assistance. This has nothing to with the decision whether to deploy, or not to deploy, our troops. First, this is up to parliament to decide; second, this is a matter that is dependent on the overall situation in the world," the minister added, and said that in that case, we have nothing to hide.

Defense Ministry Denies Russian Offer To Supply Arms

AU1503182093 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 12 Mar 93 p 16

[Report by "dr": "Russia Did Not Offer Weapons"]

[Text] Prague— "No talks have ever been held on anything of the sort and no agreement has been concluded." This is how the Ministry of Defense Press Department responded to LIDOVE NOVINY's information that Russia had offered to repay its debt to the Czech Republic by means of supplies of complete weapons systems. Such an offer has reportedly also been received by Hungary, which is supposed to have agreed to it. According to information from the Ministry of Defense, the stated conditions would not be in accord with the intended concept of equipping the Czech Army with weapons.

President, Foreign Ministry To Cooperate on Foreign Policy

AU1503181693 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Mar 92 p 2

[Article by "(ben)": "Cooperation with the President Is Necessary in Foreign Policy"]

[Text] Prague—Josef Zieleniec will inform the president of the Republic about all important steps in foreign policy. At a meeting yesterday, they both agreed on the need for cooperation in this sphere. They did not say anything specific about the mechanisms of cooperation, but they agreed upon "liaison officers" between the two offices. The reason for this agreement is the fact that both the Ministry and the president have certain responsibilities in this sphere.

Havel Views Visit to Austria, Temelin Plant, Nationalism

AU1403152493 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 13-14 Mar 93 p 4

[Interview with Czech President Vaclav Havel by Rainer Koch in Prague; date not given: "Temelin Does Not Threaten Anyone"]

[Text] [Koch] Apart from your trip to the inauguration of the Slovak president in Bratislava, your visit to Austria will be the first abroad as Czech head of state.

[Havel] I will go there in the first place because I see a certain continuity between my federal and my Czech presidency. In my federal term, Austria was the only neighboring country to which I did not pay an official visit. I want to make up for it.

[Koch] The Czech Government has just decided to finish the Temelin nuclear power plant. This is viewed with concern in Austria. What is your position?

[Havel] In the first place, it is not the president who decides whether a nuclear power plant will be built. Howewver, if someone had asked what I think of building a gigantic nuclear power plant near the small village of Temelin, I would have answered that I think it is impossible.

But we did not have to decide whether we will build it or not, but what we will do with the plant that we inherited. The government analyzed all aspects thoroughly, and I must say that it convinced me. All safety installations will be in line with the usual Western standards.

I know that of all Europeans, the Austrian people are the ones who are most resolutely against nuclear power. However, I firmly believe that the Czech Republic will be gradually able to convince Austria that the power plant has been responsibly built and that nobody is threatened.

[Koch] Is the Czech Republic a stable democracy, or is nationalism also imminent here?

[Havel] Democracy is a never-ending process. It is hard to say precisely when democracy has become stable and when that is not yet the case. However, compared to the situation two years ago, we have made great progress. We have distinguished parties. We have a functioning parliament.

Of course, there are certain bad atmospheric phenomena in the transition period, but I do not see a nationalism that threatens anyone. I would even say that a little bit of patriotism could not do any harm.

[Koch] You said before the parliament that in the market economy the rules must be defined, and everyone must know them. What did you mean mean by that?

[Havel] In this way, I wanted to stress the importance of the legislative process and that it is the expression of the moral foundations. The market has its moral principles, too. It seems to me that one thing is certain, that is, that a radical reform is better than a delayed one that has even worse social effects.

[Koch] Do you see opportunities of cooperation with Austria in the settlement of the Yugoslav conflict?

[Havel] I would welcome it if we could find a joint position and coordinate our policy on the Yugoslav crisis.

Klaus Discusses Political, Economic Issues

AU1403163893 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 10 Mar 93 pp 1,3

["Exclusive" interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Marcela Doleckova and Jana Havligerova; place and date not given: "Mathematical Games Are Not Life"]

[Text] If the cabinet is criticized for not having an energy, industrial, ecological, local, agricultural, or any other policy, this is nothing more than criticism of the specific policies that the government is planning and executing in the given sectors, said Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in an exclusive interview with HOSPODARSKE NOVINY.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] The Czech Republic has not resolved its territorial-administrative arrangement, which is regarded as a potential source of instability. What does the government intend to do to speedily adopt the constitutional law that should systematize our domestic arrangement?

[Klaus] First, I see no need for speed in adopting this law. We are being urged to hurry by those making this issue out to be a source of latent destabilization and using it to submit demands, ultimatums, or petitions. The Czech Government, however, is very well aware that there is no need to rush this matter and that nothing dramatic is happening. I would not like to swear by my honor that, for instance, the current system of districts is ideal, but on the other hand, it is not true that it would block something. So, I believe we have time for this. That is argument number one. Argument number two, which I have often repeated, is that the domestic arrangement for the Czech Republic should not be drawn on a map by a bureaucrat in Prague or Brno. When any kind of borders were created from somewhere else by drawing rigid lines, it always ended in a mess. It follows from this that we should wait for the citizens' natural manifestation of their identification with a particular region. The mechanism for gauging this self-identification is rather ambiguous and should certainly not be overemphasized. However, I was in Jihlava last week and met with 100 mayors from a region for which the Bohemian-Moravian highlands form a natural basis. This is a sign of something evolving naturally, and I would imagine that we could probably arrive at a rational arrangement by this method.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Do you think it is natural for territorial-administrative units to be created only by an initiative from below?

[Klaus] It goes without saying that on the one hand, there has to be a certain rationality—somehow influenced creatively—and on the other hand, the citizens' natural interests have to be taken into consideration. This involves both sides of the same coin. If we were to overstate this artificially construed element and not offset it with a specific internal structure, we would achieve nothing.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] That is, you are waiting for a response from below, while at the same time, formulating your own views. What are the government's views?

[Klaus] Precisely those I have already mentioned. The issue involves a combination of both elements: on the one hand, waiting for a response from below and orienting it toward a rational arrangement and on the other hand, introducing certain rational elements from the state administration and again modifying them in accordance with the interests of the citizens of this or that region.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] The Czech Republic entered Europe without border problems. Now, however, a border problem is looming in our relations with Slovakia. What are the government's plans for dealing with it?

[Klaus] Once again we avow dualism: a standard solution and, at the same time, an above-standard solution. We want a standard solution for the movement of citizens from third countries and for the movement of goods. We want an above-standard solution for the movement of Czech citizens to Slovakia and of Slovak citizens to the Czech lands. Even here there should be two levels. One is similar to small-border contacts, that is, on presenting a citizen's identity card, and the other is crossing the border away from official border-crossing points, but on presenting a passport. If, however, you begin to think about the terms normal, standard, and so on and ask an expert how, for example, a standard border is defined and what kind of features it has, you will find out that nothing of the kind exists. The continuity of these features is extremely widespread and variable. Therefore, it seems to me it is a mistake to come to some orthodox conclusion and say that this and only this is the border. It is necessary to select from the spectrum of possible border features the ones we consider to be the best in the given specific situation. So, no orthodoxy, just a search for the optimum features.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] What significance may pressure from Germany and the issue of refugees in general have in this search?

[Klaus] It would be unwelcome if our border and the extent of its features were defined by this or that FRG law. This is a very unfortunate sign, and there is a danger that this is happening. True, in this case the determining factor for our conduct depends on one single thing, that is, on identifying the interests of the Czech and Slovak Republics. If their interests are the same, it would be possible to push this curtain further to the east and not hang it between the Czech and Slovak Republics. If we do not hammer out an identical interest with Slovakia, then more rigid features will—unfortunately—be added to the Czech-Slovak border.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] You have spoken on many occasions about the importance of Czech-Slovak trade. The first few months of the two states' independent existence indicate, to say the least, a decline in commercial payments. Some Czech enterprises are already beginning to reduce their exports to Slovakia. Can the government—and does it want to—create more attractive conditions for mutual trade?

[Klaus] I must admit that, at the moment, we do not have an adequate analysis of the referred to situation. We have had separate currencies since 8 February, and the figures from the first few weeks are certainly not authoritative. Several entities are involved: Slovak enterprises, Slovak commercial banks, the Slovak central bank, and the Slovak Government itself. It is difficult to analyze where the glitches are. Perhaps they lie in all these groups, perhaps they lie more in one than in the other. It is difficult to talk about a relative level of blame—for example, for holding up payments between these entities—four weeks after currency separation. All the strong words used by various completely convincing experts in our mass media to describe the situation are, to a certain extent, stilted. Our opinion depends on whether this is deliberate or whether it is an economic necessity. Of course, the Czech Government could theoretically grant credit to our exports. Last week I joked that, from the point of view of the multiple effects, it would be easiest for the Czech side to send 20 billion korunas to Slovakia for which Slovakia could buy Czech goods. In essence, this was the way it always was in the past, although, naturally, the mechanisms were a little more complicated. However, if we were to rid them of all their mystification, this is what de facto it would involve. Nevertheless, we have to make it clear that this would be impossible even in some kind of strangely enduring federation. The budget compiled for 1992 was, at the end of last year, merely the death knell. The Czech National Council would in no way have approved such a budget for another year, even if the Federation still existed. We can assume, therefore, that the mechanism I spoke about would somehow have been discontinued. And the Federation—although it would formally continue to exist—would after the first few days or weeks of 1993 breakup without going through the entire process of constitutional and legal division.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Does this mean the Czech Government is opposed to granting credit for Slovak purchases in the Czech Republic and is opposed to possible government export credit guarantees?

[Klaus] It is possible to take all of this into consideration, but it requires basically functioning relations, because, if the guaranteed credit were similar to the credit granted in 1991 for the export of shoes from Svit Zlin to the former Soviet Union, then it would really not be worth it. This would involve an outstanding debt that could not be recovered. I am really afraid that Slovakia, because of its domestic and economic instability, will be forced into an autarchical position, which of course will be very bad for the Czech economy. This is absolutely obvious, and I am not sure that we can contribute to resolving the situation by adopting a simple method.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Are you pessimistic about the development of Czech-Slovak trade?

[Klaus] I think economic life will find its own ways and means. I know very well that the sensible, astute, and resourceful enterprises have long been looking for ways to overcome obstacles. This does not have to involve just barter trade. We are also becoming aware of institutional attempts to immediately register companies in Slovakia as affiliated companies and so on. So, I think trade between the Czech and Slovak Republics will, in the long-term, find an optimum level.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] You are a realist regarding Czech exports to Slovakia. What is your view of our exports to West Europe?

[Klaus] As far as the West is concerned, one thing is the spectacular restraints on trade in goods such as steel. I never expected an accommodating attitude from the EC in this regard, and the current situation in no way surprises me. For a number of years I have been lecturing in the West about liberalism and protectionism. Businessmen applaud loudly, but the state officials sitting in the same hall look very neutral, if not sour. However, if we leave out special products like steel, I am not so sure about the sensitivity of our exports to the development of global prosperity. Our exports are so marginal and have no effect on the overall financial-economic situation of this or that country that I cannot rule out there being something rather autonomous in them. It would be possible to express in a simple equation that exports to the West at a given time equal an independent factor of these exports plus a factor dependent on prosperity in the West. I think the factor expressing independence is greater than the factor dependent on prosperity.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Given the relative insensitivity of Czech exports to prosperity trends, there is a danger that, when the new association agreement

between the Czech Republic and the EC is being discussed, Brussels will no longer be willing to give unilateral advantages to the Czech side. Are you worried about this?

[Klaus] I think there is no danger of this. Different views prevail within the EC, and if you meet with individual politicians, you will discover that they hold differing opinions on these issues. Naturally, the Czech Government is trying to do as much as it can. For example, in the last two weeks alone I have held talks with the two EC Commission vice presidents and next week I will hold talks with Mr. Van den Broek of The Netherlands. I can assure you that in all our talks at all levels we are striving to influence the EC officials' opinion on this issue and to assert our interests.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] The Czech foreign trade figures for last year are worse than the previous year. What do you think is the reason for this?

[Klaus] The juncture between inertia and change lasts too long. A technical-production view of economic problems prevails, while economic problems are sales and marketing problems.

Let me give you another example from Jihlava. In Modeta [a clothing company] I saw very high quality and very nice products, but Modeta was complaining that commercial organizations are not interested in it. I immediately pointed out that even Bata had started as a store and not as a manufacturing chain. Simply put, the issue involves marketing. I think this problem concerns everyone.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] It has seems that recently the situation in agriculture is coming to a head, and the government is accused of not having an agriculture policy. Does it really not have one?

[Klaus] The criticism is that of a specifically executed policy. Agriculture faces two fundamental problems: They are both connected with transformation and cannot be resolved overnight or by waving a magic wand. We have fundamentalists supporting ownership relations who identify the problem of agriculture with resolving these ownership relations. This was the initiative of the famous three T's [reference to the authors of the program for privatizing agriculture]. I was disturbed by the fact that they were not interested in the second problem. This is a matter-of-fact problem: financial, allocation, subsidy, and so on. Today it is obvious that the transformation of ownership relations was not conceived with the originality or invention of coupon privatization, and therefore, it was not too successful. The cooperative farmers—in the simple words of Mr. Trnka—are another group again pretending that the ownership problem does not exist and that the issue merely involves more subsidies and more of this and that. At the same time, our agriculture is really expensive and costly, something this group does not want to bear in mind. It thinks the expense can be borne by a more imaginative government agricultural policy.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Various economic problems could radicalize society. Is the government coalition prepared for this?

[Klaus] I do not think radicalism should be greater than it has been, let us say, from 10 December 1989 to the present. I see this more as a continuum that has moderate peaks and troughs. I do not feel—judging by all my meetings with the citizens of this country—that the moods of the rank-and-file citizen would be any different. In this respect, I reject the criticism that only sympathetic groups of people or some kind of Vaclav Klaus fan club go to these meetings. If, for example, more than 1,000 people come to the meeting in Horazdovice—which has almost 6,000 inhabitants—then, we are not talking about an extremist group of supporters, but about the people in this small town who are interested in public affairs.

Despite my political immaturity and youth, I already have some experience in this respect, and I know that radicalization on the part of the opposition leads to counterpressure. This will certainly unite the government coalition. Aggression from an opposition leader may remind a smaller coalition party with whom there are and are not obstacles.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Are you thinking about amending the coalition treaty so that it contains a list of the problems that will be resolved and a list of those that should—for the time being—remain taboo?

[Klaus] This is a slightly idyllic textbook notion. There is no tension in the coalition in the sphere of government policy; the views of individual ministers really do not differ politically here. If they do differ, they differ without political overtones and do not lead to disputes within the coalition. Of course, if we leave out one or two evergreens such as—for example—restitution of Church property. However, even here the issue involves a logical special-interest difference caused by the parties' orientation (Christian and civic), a difference that will be resolved by a compromise. The problem is more serious in parliament where the standard behavior of a politician bound by a certain responsibility for a department is not so obvious. This involves individual initiatives from individual deputies who—for the most part—give vent to their passing interests. We have agreed on many things at the coalition-chairmen level, but, despite this, Civic Democratic Party deputies being no exception, problems the chairmen have agreed are taboo come to the surface.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] The year 1993 should be the first time when an increase in the gross national product is recorded throughout the year. In your opinion, is this forecast from the economic ministers still valid?

[Klaus] Every forecast depends on known and unknown factors. For example, we had counted on the currency union lasting longer. Reducing the period of its validity and greater payment complications in trading relations

between the Czech and Slovak Republics are external factors that—of course—have a negative impact. However, because the original annual forecast was made only on the basis of the results of the third quarter of last year (there was an increase of 3 percent in the fourth quarter) it was a relatively staid forecast. Nevertheless, improvement in the gross domestic product is very dependent on foreign trade, especially with Slovakia. A decline in it by 10 percent means a decline in GDP of 1 percent and so on. However, it makes no sense to continue these mathematical games. Let us reserve a longer period for analysis.

Ruml Says Stricter Immigration Legislation Planned

AU1503172993 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Mar 93 p 2

[Report by "iv": "Federal Passports Valid Until the End of 1997"]

[Excerpt] Prague— New passports bearing the Czech Republic emblem will be issued at the beginning of August to those citizens who have been using passports issued before 1991 and which bear the emblem of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. These passports will no longer be valid. Passports issued after 1991 which bear the emblem of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic will remain valid through the end of 1997, but their holders will have to have them stamped with the Czech Republic emblem in August. In lieu of having their passport stamped, interested passport holders will also have the option of having their passport exchanged for a new one. Interior Minister Jan Ruml briefed members of the Czech parliament's Defense and Security Affairs Committee about these procedures yesterday.

Regarding the international migration problem, Ruml said that the new immigration department at the Ministry of Interior is to become the main Czech Republic agency in charge of this issue. At the same time, three pieces of legislation are being drafted, intended to introduce more rigid conditions for foreign nationals entering our territory for asylum here and to expedite processing of the pertinent applications. The legal norms in question are amendments to the law on refugees, a law on travel, and a law on alien residence. [passage omitted]

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 12 March on page 3 carries a 400-word Marie Koenigova report on the 11 March meeting of the Defense and Security Affairs Committee. According to the report, the meeting was also addressed by V. Henych, director of the Interior Ministry's General Administration, who "told the deputies that by the end of 1992 the ministry received 46,000 applications for Czech citizenship from citizens of the Slovak Republic. Between 1 January and 19 February 1993 60,000 citizens of the Slovak Republic opted for Czech citizenship."]

ODS Tops Polls, Communists Drop to 8 Percent

AU1503200693 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 12 Mar 93 p 2

[Report by "(bed)"]

[Text] Some 93 percent of Prague residents would vote in the election, according to the DEMA agency. Only 10 percent do not know for whom they would vote. Some 44 percent would vote for the Civic Democratic Party [ODS], 12 percent for the Democratic Alliance, 8 percent for the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, and 6 percent for the Civic Movement. The Czech Social Democratic Party, the Christian Democratic Party-Czechoslovak People's Party, and the Association for the Republic-Republican Party of Czechoslovakia would receive 4 percent each. The polls were conducted on a representative sample of 150 people in Prague on 9 March.

Meciar on Troops to Balkans, Integration With Europe

LD1403221993 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1810 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Regular address by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar on 14 March, place not given; "Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] Good evening, esteemed fellow citizens!

Each of us is extremely sensitive and notices all changes taking place around him, whatever is new. [passage omitted] This forces us to pay attention not only to what is currently happening in our country but also to what is happening abroad, to the development of international relations. This attention was the reason for my trips to Brussels, London, and other trips which are being prepared to take place shortly—probably to Moscow.

The talks which took place were aimed at providing answers to three fundamental questions. First, what will be the future European security structures—the ones within which Slovakia would be safe. The second question concerns how international relations will develop and the gradual integration of Slovakia into these relations. The third one, which is also important for us, is how will we participate in the international division of labor in a way to begin to develop our market space, which has been shrinking constantly. [passage omitted]

Slovakia's starting position is that it finds itself under no threat and it does not threaten anybody. Slovakia's starting position is that it is in its interest that security that it wishes for itself is enjoyed by all its neighbors—insofar that a system is formed which will not give birth to any further conflicts which might subsequently lead to a split of Europe into blocs.

Slovakia is interested in lessening tension; it is interested in preventing situations when new tension is created. This is why we reacted with alarm to the fact that Hungary is planning to import a great number of weapons Russia, worth around $800 million. An alarming fact but not a threat. We are alarmed because once one begins to accumulate, a chain reaction can be started. We would be happier if such a situation did not emerge in the center of Europe.

We have reacted to security structures also in a wider context. The situation that has developed in Yugoslavia is a tragedy for the nations which have inflicted it upon themselves. They cause the damage to themselves, but it is also a threat to others' security.

The Slovak Republic received an invitation to replace a Canadian sappers battalion, active in the region of conflicts, with a sappers battalion of the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted]

A decision was made and on behalf of the Slovak Government I will propose to the Slovak National Council—the only body which can make a decision on this issue—to send a Slovak sappers battalion to the former Yugoslavia. It will consist of volunteers. This is an important and responsible step, a step by which we subscribe to the notion that we understand our security as the security of all.

The battalion will fulfill responsible tasks—building bridges, securing the passage of food convoys, securing minefields. [passage omitted]

As for our integration into the international division of labor, we have to change our strategy; we must not be passive, we must look for markets, open up markets, look for payments, sell goods. We must be much more active than we have been so far. [passage omitted] Government policy is aimed at this.

In addition, my trip to the Russian Federation, to Moscow—which I have been preparing—is aimed at helping the reconstruction of eastern markets. There are no other viewpoints to it, it does not follow any other interests, and most of all, it does not have any political color. However, no doubt there are enough political problems in this area at present.

Thus I am returning to the point I began with—things that we face as problems originate somewhere else. In order to make their impact on us positive, we have to go to their very roots and where decisions are born, as in our country we just feel their impact. This is an important sphere, it is the sphere of our everyday work and life. This is why we will keep you regularly informed about everything we do. Thank you.

Meciar Interview on Knazko, Bugging

LD1203202693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Regular Friday interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Alica Bielikova; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted]

[Bielikova] It was no doubt your request that Milan Knazko, deputy premier of the government and foreign minister, be recalled that stirred up our political and social scene most. You presented it to the president of the Republic. As the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] leadership will not hold its session before tomorrow, rumors have it that you took this step without having been given the mandate by your political movement. Thus why? And how do you expect this affair to develop?

[Meciar] I am in a rather disadvantaged situation because the HZDS leadership adopted a resolution which asks for no public statements to be made on these issues. I do observe this. Mr. Knazko is in breach of both this resolution and agreements linked to it. Therefore, the information our public is receiving is one-sided and not objective.

Neither do I share the views that everything within the ministry is alright. It is in a steep decline, deep attenuation—if the Slovak Republic's foreign policy goes on in this way it will end badly.

On Saturday [13 March] I will demand that I and other members of the Government are absolved from the duty to be silent and be given an opportunity to take a public stance on this issue.

As for the question how this will end, the president has received my proposal, the interpretation of the Constitution is unambiguous as far as I am concerned. It is his problem now and he has to adopt a stance on it. I do not have any reason to change my stance. I have put it forward after serious and mature consideration. This affair has been going on with Mr. Knazko since October. In his presence we discussed it for four and a half hours at a meeting of our political board, which subsequently took a stance on this. However, nothing was achieved. There has been a need to halt some negative things going on. Therefore I used my constitutional right and put forward the proposal. It is a bit paradoxical to be accused then of being undemocratic, of failing to respect the party leadership . However, it does not matter. There are still things to be said in this argument. What matters is that the problem does not concern personal relations, it concerns the efficiency of work by representative of the Ministry, the minister, and the Ministry itself.

[Bielikova] Prime Minister, do you not think that you are harming yourself, for it is somehow in the genes of the Slovak people that they always favor whoever is being harmed.

[Meciar] It is Slovakia and Slovak foreign policy that is being harmed. It is not a gene of the Slovak people, but the sympathies of the journalists—if you consider that the journalists, who until recently censored Knazko, did not let him on the pages of the newspapers because they were against HZDS—who are today his main followers. So politically this is being transferred on a completely different level.

As to the duty to keep quiet, I am keeping quiet and that is why I shall not comment further.

[Bielikova] More and more often questions are arising on the need to rebuild the Government, for example a proposal by a group of deputies has been received at the National Council to express a vote of no confidence in Minister Sobona. It is quite possible that next week—so the media say—that the deputies, let us say, will come up with the question of expressing confidence in Minister Knazko. What is your view on the questions of rebuilding the Government, and what could happen if, let us say, deputies express confidence in Minister Knazko.

[Meciar] The chairman has the same constitutional right as the National Council of the Slovak Republic and I will not have the constitutional right taken away from me. This means that I have the right to submit a proposal, regardless of the viewpoint of the National Council. I see the people, I know how to assess them, I see how they work, and I know what they do.

As for Minister Sobona, I confirm that he belongs to the Government. Minister Sobona, as nobody else before him, started system changes in health care. He started the move with regard to how to get health care out of debt. He has taken over the department not only in a state of decay, but also in a state of indebtedness to the tun of 1.1 billion korunas, which was in danger of growing by the end of the year to a very large sum. He started the transition to a system which is connected with insurance companies. He started transformations in health care linked to the possibility of private institutions. He is reorganizing the entire redistribution of medicines. Naturally, during such large undertakings within the department, mistakes can happen and they are happening. However, the basic thing is not pointing out small mistakes; the basic thing is that he has courage and he could guide health care to such dynamism and such changes which could bring it to vitality and improve its situation. He also has displayed an objective view of the results of work by doctors and health institutes. No one before him has had the courage. If today this has been started and he should have to leave the work now, the department would suffer.

The situation is different with Minister Knazko. The department is in a different situation and the attempt at improving and solving the mistakes which occur call for such change. I also want to say that if some successes are being ascribed to the current minister, for example establishing diplomatic relations, recognition in international organizations, that was the work of Mr. Moravcik, the federal minister of foreign affairs, because one could not communicate with our minister at that time.

[Bielikova] What about if some deputies after all ask for a vote of confidence in Minister Knazko?

[Meciar] That is the affair of Parliament, it is not my affair. My viewpoint remains unchanged; my rights stem from the Constitution, and I am not doing anything that runs counter to the Constitution.

[Bielikova] But what could happen after that?

[Meciar] That is speculation.

[Bielikova] Let's talk about something else now. At the news conference during Prime Minister Klaus' visit [22 February 1993], I asked you both whether you thought that the division of assets and the separation of our two republics was, on the whole, still clad in velvet. Prime Minister Klaus said it was, but you did not comment. I do not know whether to interpret this as agreement or not. I have been asking myself whether certain matters were not, after all, going the way of the catastrophic scenario drawn up during the government of Prime Minister Pithart after all. To give an example: the

transfer of Romanies out of the Czech Republic with police assistance and dogs, and so on—with regard to the situation on the borders.

[Meciar] The scenario mentions the situation at the borders, the transfer of Romanies and so on, but does not mention the dogs. Certain problems have cropped up in our relations. They are the result, not of the policy program which had been drawn up then [at meeting with Klaus], but because someone is trying to radicalize development these days. I somehow do not think that it is Czech Prime Minister Klaus who is doing that. There are, however, people around him who attended the talks and who tended to radicalize. We agreed that it was so. That is why the main brunt of negotiations was always borne by the Klaus and myself, which usually foiled even the most radical intentions.

If the Czech side wants to implement some of the measures which are being prepared to close the border or tighten controls, it would have to scrap the valid agreements which have been concluded. It would have to abrogate them unilaterally. If they expect me to sit down at a table and sign the cancellation order, they will wait in vain. They won't get me to sit down at that table.

[Bielikova] Some time ago a lot was said, sometimes in a hysterical fashion, about how you fitted into the affair of bugging at what was then the U.S. Consulate, and which is now the U.S. Embassy, in Bratislava. The chief military prosecutor suspended the prosecution because, in legal language, an offense had not been committed.

[Meciar] The investigation was carried out after necessary legal steps had been taken. I was the only one in Slovakia who saw the report compiled by the Ministry of the Interior. The prosecutor general also received it later on.

Second, as early as 1992 I spoke about the report to U.S. representative—the former ambassador to the CSFR and now ambassador to the Czech Republic— and the charge d'affaires in Slovakia. I also gave them facts which were not contained in the prosecutor's conclusions. On this basis, I can only say with regret that I was right all along, ever since the affair broke out. It was provocation. Someone wanted to tar Slovakia's good name in the world and disrupt the relations between the United States and the Slovak Republic. [passage omitted]

[Bielikova] At the end of the week—in fact it started at the end of last week—what would you say that is nice and pleasant, to our citizens for the coming week? [sentence as heard]

[Meciar] Above all, that views have been polarized toward the end of last year; one lot said that Slovakia will be badly off and the next lot that Slovakia will be well-off. Now in the contacts that we have at our disposal, the trend is becoming predominant that there is hope for Slovakia, that it has good prospects. The representatives who were here from the FRG told me openly that to have the opportunity to join their technology with our motivation would result in a type of ideal economic entity.

So, despite the fact that at one time only I and a close group round me were optimistic, today we are acquiring certain realistic features in that the negative development will be averted, that a country which now has problems of identity, is seeking new positions in security structures, political structures, a division of labor, may become a prospering country. I keep using the word may, because this is conditioned by the multitude of activities which can develop everywhere.

So even the difficulties which are now felt by the people will end one day. Even if today we do not mention tightening belts but balance in all spheres, this stage will also end and we will all think how much more we are able to afford tomorrow and what we will be able to improve.

[Bielikova] And what does it mean, one day? How long will it take?

[Meciar] It will not take a long time. This year should be the year in which breakthroughs take place and negative trends are halted. Next year is the year of stabilization and gradual vitality. The situation is developing negatively to such an extent that if the development continued further, then in the year 2000 we would not be on the same economic level that we had been in 1989. If someone managed to disrupt the policy—and many people do that—and forced the parties into political struggle, so that economic questions would be set aside, then these are the economic consequences which I cannot imagine. Many people tell me why I adhere to the status quo so stubbornly. It is simply because I am afraid that infringement upon the status quo will result in a reaction whose consequences we cannot predict. If many people talk about changing the government, can they imagine that HZDS, with 74 deputies, would not be in the government? That could also happen. Can anyone imagine what impact this has for parliament or the politics of Slovakia, or does anyone want to force themselves as a partner, regardless of program aims and so on? [passage omitted]

Knazko Rejects 'Vague' Criticism, Resignation Plans

LD1503210993 Prague CTK in English 2052 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 15 (CTK)—Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko rejected today the criticism by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar as vague, and characterised his conflict with Meciar as personal and not matter-of-fact. Speaking at a press conference, Knazko said he did not intend to leave the post of the foreign minister.

I want to know when, how and where I acted against Slovakia's interests abroad as claimed by the premier, Knazko said. On March 13, Meciar said at a session of

his ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) that Knazko as foreign minister was putting himself against the interests of the HZDS and was responsible for a foreign policy which did not serve the interests of Slovakia. He accused Knazko of painting a false portrait of Slovakia abroad.

Knazko said the absence of concrete arguments against the quality of the work of his ministry was one of the main reasons why he wanted to stay in office. I would not mind giving up the post of deputy premier, Knazko said.

The current dispute between Meciar and Knazko broke out at the end of January when Meciar accused Knazko of breaking party discipline by encouraging HZDS members not to vote for the HZDS candidate in the first round of voting for Slovak president.

On Tuesday last week, Slovak President Michal Kovac received Meciar's proposal to dismiss Knazko as foreign minister.

Knazko told journalists today he hoped that the conflict would be solved by a commission set up at the Slovak Parliamentary Foreign Committee several days ago to analyse the work of the Foreign Ministry.

According to the commission's chairman, Ivan Laluha, the results of the commission's work should be announced on March 17.

HZDS Says Knazko Breached Press 'Moratorium'

LD1303214093 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 2030 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko has been in breach of a resolution adopted at a February session of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] on the moratorium with regard to informing the press and public about the situation in the Government and the HZDS. This decision was adopted today by a majority vote of the HZDS republican leadership at its session in Lucenec.

The bases of a proposal to recall Milan Knazko from the post of foreign minister are, according to Vladimir Meciar, the activities of both Knazko personally and Knazko's ministry, which run counter to the HZDS's interests and program, and counter to Slovakia's interests abroad. The Movement's chairman said that Milan Knazko provided untruthful information about events in Slovakia and thus disinformation was being spread about Government's deliberations, the prime minister's statements, and the preparation of foreign trips.

The HZDS leadership decided at the same time to release Vladimir Meciar and the Slovak Government members from the obligation to keep silent. An extraordinary news conference will be held on this issue.

Following the session of the republican HZDS leadership, Meciar also said that even if Parliament passes the vote of confidence in Milan Knazko, he would not withdraw his proposal to recall him.

The prime minister proposed a compromise: to split the posts of the government deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

Following the conclusion of the HZDS leadership's session, Milan Knazko immediately left Lucenec. He said that he would comment on the results of today's session in the next few days.

Presidential Advisor on Clash Between Knazko, Meciar

LD1503174593 Prague CTK in English 1731 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bratislava March 15 (CTK)—Pavol Demes, former minister of international relations, was appointed today foreign political advisor to Slovak President Michal Kovac.

Speaking on Slovak Radio today, Demes said that all people surrounding the Slovak president should give up their political allegiances, adding that he himself has never been a member of a political party. In the 1992 June elections Demes ran as an independent candidate representing the Civic Democratic Union (ODU, former Public Against Violence, VPN).

Demes said that in no way does he consider Milan Knazko's Foreign Ministry to be the weakest part of the current Slovak cabinet, as claimed by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar. Minister Knazko has improved within the past six months, Demes said.

I constantly feel that the conflict between Meciar and Knazko is personal rather than matter-of-fact, Demes said.

President Michal Kovac originally wanted to appoint as his foreign advisor Jan Klepac, chairman of the Christian Social Union, but Klepac refused to give up his party post.

Kovac Calls for Media to Help Transform Society

LD1203220293 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] All those who address citizens should be drawn into the process of transforming our society. Journalists are among those people who can contribute toward making a positive impact on our social atmosphere, which is not the most satisfactory at present. This was stated by Slovak President Michal Kovac at a meeting with representatives of the most important mass media held at Bratislava Castle today.

He stressed the need to uplift national and civic self-confidence. In this context, Michal Kovac spoke about the significance of good constructive criticism, pointing out that the task of journalists is not to complicate problems but to help in solving them. He expects the journalistic community to contribute toward Slovakia's good name, in the same way as he himself feels obliged to increase the trustworthiness of the young Slovak state.

Kovac Views Wartime Slovak State

AU1503201293 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 12 Mar 93 p 2

["Statement by Michal Kovac, President of the Slovak Republic, on the 54th Anniversary of the Founding of the Slovak Republic"—place and date not given]

[Text] The Slovak state was founded after both the Western democracies and the Soviet Union abandoned their Czechoslovak ally, after they allowed Hitler to cut off the border regions of our, at that time still common, state. The Slovak state was founded under conditions when Slovakia was left to its own devices and at Hitler's mercy. The southern and northern neighbors were surreptitiously laying their hands on the territory of small Slovakia and all this was being overseen by the great usurper and aggressor Hitler, for whom this was a game on the chessboard. I therefore assess the founding of the Slovak state as a desperate attempt to prevent the worst, that is, the complete partition or dismemberment of Slovakia and the total deprivation [bezprizornost] of the then citizens of Slovakia. The Slovak state that came about in this way was not, and could not be, a democratic state because it came about as a result of Hitler's will. It needs to be realized that, on the one hand, Slovakia collaborated with Hitler but on the other, it was building its own state, in which the Slovak nation demonstrated its economic abilities and prosperity, in which it was developing its culture, and in which it was establishing an army, which stood up against Hitler when the opportunity arose. At the same time we know, however, that the political system of the wartime Slovak Republic was not democratic, that Slovakia was ruled by a single political party, but we also know that diverse forces existed within this party. The elimination of democracy, the deportations of Jews, the suppression of persons with a different opinion, diverse inadmissible encroachments upon personal freedom and private ownership—all that can never be condoned. This is a grim legacy, of which one cannot approve. However, the wartime Slovak Republic was a historical fact that cannot be erased from Slovak history. The Slovak Republic from the war years needs to be objectively assessed in a way that will not pay tribute to anyone. I am interested in the continuation of the process of the assessment of the wartime Slovak Republic.

Prosecutor Accuses U.S. of Lack of Cooperation

AU1503174693 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Mar 93 pp 1, 3

[Report by Peter Ondera: "How Will the Americans React?"]

[Excerpts] The scandal with the alleged bugging of the American Consulate in Bratislava in the fall of 1992 is sufficiently well-known. On 9 December 1992, the American Embassy in the CSFR announced that it has definite proof of use of the built-in microphones as late as the time of their discovery, i.e. 18 November 1992. The consulate provided photographic documentation to the Interior Ministry agents. [passage omitted]

The public was waiting in vain for the report of the Federal Investigation Commission that then-Federal Interior Minister Cermak was to submit by the end of 1992. It has remained classified. After the partition of the federation, the Office of the Military District Prosecutor assumed responsibility for the investigation. [passage omitted]

The entire investigation was classified top secret, but it was to be completed by 5 March 1993. Therefore, yesterday we asked the deputy prosecutor general of the Slovak Republic, Chief Military Prosecutor Colonel Ctibor Kostal, LL.B., for some details on the case. He told us that the Office of the Military District Prosecutor halted the proceedings because "obviously, no offense took place that would warrant criminal prosecution." [passage omitted] According to Kostal, not a single piece of evidence was found indicating "reactivation" of the devices in the fall of 1992. [passage omitted] To our question of whether the American special services could only have just discovered the microphones, even "dead" ones, Kostal replied in the affirmative.

The appropriate U.S. authorities have been informed by the usual diplomatic channels about the prosecutor's decision. It is interesting that the American side, according to the chief military prosecutor, did not release the photographic documentation as required by the investigation, did not allow the investigators to enter the then-U.S. Consulate in Bratislava, and did not even facilitate questioning of the embassy staff.

Opposition 'Preparing' for Meciar's Fall

AU1503140393 Prague CTK in English 1620 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Text] Kosice, East Slovakia, March 11 (CTK)— Slovak opposition parliamentary parties are preparing several scenarios envisaging the fall of Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, the Slovak weekly DOMINO EFEKT wrote in its latest issue.

According to the paper, assumptions concerning Meciar's fall are linked to the catastrophic economic situation, expected within several months, and to the consequent social unrest all over Slovakia.

The paper says that these catastrophic scenarios expect that the situation will be solved by a crisis government comprising representatives of all parliamentary parties, which should ensure calm and order in the country and lead it to new elections. If this be the case, the elections would be held more than one year prior to the end of the current parliament's term of office, the weekly says.

It notes that although the catastrophic scenarios are different and sometimes are based on fantasy rather than on serious political analyses, a majority of them agree in one point—that Vladimir Meciar will allegedly leave the political scene already this year.

[Prague TELEGRAF in Czech on 12 March on page 9 carries a 400-word CTK report on the DOMINO EFEKT article, which includes the following additional passage: "The weekly quotes an unidentified representative of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] who said, with reference to Ladislav Polka (HZDS), chairman of the Slovak parliament's Petition, Legal Protection, and Security Affairs Committee, that a team of people is being formed in Vladimir Meciar's surroundings who are to fulfill 'special assignments.' In this context DOMINO EFEKT cites information from circles close to the former Federal Security and Information Service, according to which a training course for some 3,000 selected police members has been held a few days ago, dealing with the possibility of having to introduce 'order and discipline' in Slovakia in the near future."]

Bank Spokesman Views Foreign Currency Reserves

AU1503200993 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 10 Mar 93 p 13

[Interview with Ivan Pasek, spokesman of the Slovak National Bank, by "(ZV)"-signed reporter; place and date not given; from the "A Single Question Column"]

[Text] [NARODNA OBRODA] Foreign currency reserves of the Slovak National Bank declined significantly in the first days of 1993. What is the situation today?

[Pasek] The disturbing decline in foreign currency reserves is not continuing in the fashion noted in January. Recently, the pace of decline stopped [as published]. There are two main reasons: The measure taken by the Slovak National Bank of 2 February defining the procedures for commercial banks making payments to some domestic holders of foreign currency, and the fact that the Slovak National Bank is buying foreign currencies from the commercial banks that have already received payment in foreign currencies. For example, on 5 March the Slovak National Bank bought foreign currencies worth 29 million Slovak korunas, and on 8 March 9 million Slovak korunas.

As regards the measure taken by the Slovak National Bank, I would like to be more precise and to say that the limitations applied to not apply at all to purchases of medicines from abroad. Commercial banks were sufficiently informed about this by a Slovak National Bank letter of 29 February.

Csurka Clarifies Controversial Statements

AU1403160693 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Mar 93 p 12

[Interview with Istvan Csurka, founder of the Hungarian Path Movement, by Jan Zizka in Budapest; date not given: "We Consider Everyone To Be Hungarian Who Considers Himself To Be Hungarian"]

[Text] A fascist, an anti-Semite, an extreme right-winger—such characterizations of Istvan Csurka can be found in the media. This writer-politician of the ruling Hungarian Democratic Forum, and founder of the Hungarian Path movement spoke to RUDE PRAVO in Budapest about his ideas.

[Zizka] You are the founder of the Hungarian Path Movement. What does the independent Hungarian path about which you speak actually mean?

[Csurka] The Hungarian Path is a political, social, and cultural movement based on traditional Hungarian spiritual values that has set itself the preservation of these values as its goal. Among its political goals is to enlist stronger support for the present ruling parties to enable us to meet in the future the national targets that we had laid down at the time of the change of the political system. We are a broad movement in which there is place also for Hungarian ethnic minorities; we are extending to them the offer to participate. We consider everyone to be Hungarian who considers himself to be Hungarian and who struggles for national and state interests.

[Zizka] You have said that an end must be put to the liberal and communist nomenklatura. Is that also one of your goals?

[Csurka] Yes. We want to prevent former communists from causing too much damage in society and the economy. At the time of the change of the system many communists managed to acquire good positions. They exchanged their erstwhile political power for economic power, which is extremely dangerous for the Hungarian society. People see that things that really matter have not actually changed at all. A real change will come only when the suppressed Hungarian middle class regains its leading positions. That is what we are fighting for.

[Zizka] How are you fighting for it? Do you want political trials?

[Csurka] What matters is to give justice its due. We want neither political trials nor exclusion of people from society. We want to achieve equal chances for everyone. The situation now is such that well-organized cliques control everything. Conditions need to be established that will make it possible for other people to also attain influential positions. This can be secured by means of the adoption of certain laws within the framework of the law-governed state. We do not want to use anticonstitutional methods. We advocate the abolition of privileges, monopoly positions, and advantages that some people had gained under the previous regime.

[Zizka] You are not a party in the conventional sense. Where do you see your place in the parliamentary system?

[Csurka] We are not a party, and it is not clear whether there is going to be a party. The Hungarian Path is a movement that can be joined by everyone regardless of his party affiliation. Naturally, you will not find among us left-wingers and liberals but rather supporters of the ruling parties. Should, however, someone be ready to fight on our side, he will find our door open, even if he comes from the other side.

[Zizka] What do you mean by liberal nomenklatura?

[Csurka] Liberalism has become a lifesaving idea for former Marxists and Communists, around which they have rallied, forgetting that only a few years ago they harangued mercilessly against it. It is not real liberalism that they profess; it has nothing in common with the original ideals. We do not criticize the idea of liberalism, but the fact that there exists the possibility for those who used to proclaim something completely different to retain their former positions.

[Zizka] You are being labelled in the press as an anti-Semite.

[Csurka] They write about it but are unable to prove it. The issue is that I have demanded the replacement of some people holding certain posts. These people want to keep their chairs and have started to claim that I am attacking them not because of their activity but because they are Jewish. Meanwhile, I do not have the slightest idea about their origin.

[Zizka] But you have suggested that President Goncz was being controlled by Israel.

[Csurka] I said that their existed certain ties that were indicative of something. After all, when someone has certain ties and someone points them out, it does not mean that he is an anti-Semite. During the first year of his presidency, Goncz travelled eight times to the United States, be it as a private individual or as president. Had he been there in contact with the Ku Klux Klan, I would be speaking about the Ku Klux Klan, but he was not in contact with it. [sentence as published]

[Zizka] You have spoken about Goncz's contact men [spojky] in New York, Paris, or Tel Aviv. With whom are they connecting him?

[Csurka] There are certain circles in those cities that also have influence our country—for example, in cultural life. Some representatives in Hungary, for example in the field of the press, have ties with those circles. Let me only mention their contacts with [the publisher Robert] Maxwell, whose fate is well known.

[Zizka] You have written that the validity of the results of the Yalta conference on the postwar settlement will expire after 50 years, which will open up new possibilities.

[Csurka] You should ask this question in Prague, Bratislava, or Berlin. The decision on the partition of Germany was made in Yalta, but the Berlin Wall, built in the Yalta spirit, no longer exists. Of course, what happened in Yalta was not the adoption of a treaty; rather, certain principles were drafted. However, the world has changed. The system of treaties is incomplete; there exists no peace treaty with Germany. The Central European countries, too, have not held any negotiations among themselves, which I consider to be a mistake. It is necessary that after Yalta, the Cold War, and the disintegration of the USSR these countries sat down at the negotiating table.

[Zizka] But from what do you deduce those 50 years? There is no mention of such a deadline anywhere.

[Csurka] From international practice. Treaties of such significance are usually being concluded for 50 or 99 years. The 50 years will soon be over. With the old system having fallen apart, it is time to build a new system.

[Zizka] In other words, you are of the opinion that it is necessary to hold new negotiations on borders.

[Csurka] Yes. Even the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic are negotiating about their border now. That is naturally correct. The situation is different from the situation three or four years ago.

[Zizka] You have stressed that, by implementing the "C" variant of building the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power project, Slovakia has violated the border. Does that imply that the existing border is no longer valid? Can Hungary demand the demarcation of a new border?

[Csurka] Hungary could do that, of course, but that would not solve the problem. It would not fill the Danube with water. I do not think that anyone in Hungary will demand territory. A different solution must be found.

[Zizka] You also speak about freedom of the press being misused.

[Csurka] Freedom of the press is being misused by those writing that there is no freedom of the press in Hungary. That is ludicrous. How can there be no freedom of the press if no one prevents them from blatantly denouncing the government and its representatives? That is not freedom of the press, but gangsterism and banditism. No one in Hungary wants to curtail press freedom. What matters is who owns the media. In 90 percent of all cases they are in the hands of the socialist and liberal left. That is what we are combating.

[Zizka] How?

[Csurka] It is difficult. New newspapers must be established. It needs to be clarified what course some privatization projects actually took.

Representatives View Talks on Defense Principles

AU1603115293 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 11 Mar 93 pp 1,4

[Report by "Vereckei": "Views on the Defense Principles—The Important Elements Were Kept"]

[Text] As we have already reported, there was consensus among the participants in the six-party talks on the basic defense principles on all but one issue. The point in issue was the definition of one of the factors that endanger the Hungarian Republic's security. Accordingly, "it can be a risk factor if political forces came to power in our region that intend to resolve their conflicts with Hungary" through the exercise of economic or military pressure. The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], with the support of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], wished to refine the wording while the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] supported the government. We interviewed three members of the Parliamentary Defense Committee on the disputed issue after the participants lifted their voluntary silence. We also asked the deputies to assess the basic principles.

"It would have been a pointless reticence to leave this definition out of the basic defense principles. If we make a detailed list of possible sources of danger then we cannot forget this fortunately very unlikely conflict possibility simply out of reticence," FIDESZ representative Tamas Wachsler told MAGYAR NEMZET. "After all, in the worst case, the purpose of maintaining an army is to defend the country in the event of war. Naturally, it is also conceivable not to mention this possibility among the factors that endanger our security, but in that case, we either do not set up the organization of the Army along the concept of defense, or we take the omission of this source of danger into consideration in the budget. In that case, the country needs an even smaller army than suggested by FIDESZ." according to Wachsler, who, assessing the basic principles, explained that, considering the starting conditions, they had accepted the best possible solutions. The main feature of the document approved by the six-party meeting is that the issues that the participants had not been able to agree on were left out. Thus, the size of the Army was not defined in the document and there is no reference to the place of the Border Guard in the structure. Naturally, as we learned, this does not mean the parties have removed these issues from the agenda once and for all. According to the agreement, everyone has a right to submit amendments but these cannot prevent the coordinated text from being accepted.

"We welcomed the fact that the FIDESZ proposal on the legal defense of soldiers was included in the text with the

agreement of the other parties. It is also positive that we formulated the need for civilian control," Wachsler concluded.

"Naturally, very few important elements were taken out of the new basic defense principles," Gabor Perjes, member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], said. "One of these is the definition of the size of the Army in percentages. In the end we did not insist on this because we could see that it could cause a debate that would delay acceptance of the defense principles. It is possible that, in five to 10 years, the numbers would have to be changed because of the changed circumstances. It is my personal view that in five, 10, or perhaps 15 years' time, we will definitely have to move toward a smaller and professional army."

Talking about the disputed point 11, Gabor Perjes said that they had tried to formulate it such a way that the basic defense principles should not be a message to other countries, although this aspect could not be ignored. We have to consider all risk factors. Listing these means work for the government. Therefore, if we determine fewer risk factors, it would make the work of the following government or parliament more difficult.

Imre Mecs [member of the SZDSZ] began by saying that "the original text was too verbose and disorganized, and its relation to the security policy principles was confused. We managed to improve all these and now we have a well-structured and concise text, partly based on the ministerial proposal and partly on the work of the SZDSZ staff. During the talks, we managed to put aside prestige points of view," said Mecs, according to whom the most difficult issues were the ones relating to the dangers, the Border Guard, and the Army's size and equipment.

"We managed to reach agreement on all these issues," he said and added that "on the issue of the Border Guard, where antagonistic views emerged, we accepted the government's proposal to leave it out of the basic principles. We also managed consistently to assert the principle that the contents of the basic principles should remain in force for five to 10 years, rather than for a short period, and we also managed to eliminate all formulations that could have been misunderstood by the military politicians of our neighboring countries. We only defined the limits of the Army's size: The lower limit is determined by the economic possibilities and the upper limit by international agreements," Mecs said. Talking about the ominous point 11, Mecs said that they had urged a more general wording regarding the section on danger situations but they do not think that there is any need to start an open debate on this issue at the plenary session. Therefore, they finally accepted this formulation on 10 March.

Defense Ministry Denies Training Croats for Bosnia

LD1503091993 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0700 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] The Hungarian Ministry of Defense denies allegations of the Bosnian Serbs according to which Hungary interferes with the south Slav war. The Bosnian Serb news agency claimed that on Sunday [14 March] night, 176 busloads of Croatian volunteers arrived at the Maria-Terezia barracks in Pecs from West Europe in order to train for the fighting in Bosnia. Laszlo Tikos, head of the Ministry of Defense press department, described the claim as being totally unfounded, adding that there is not even a Maria-Terezia barracks in Pecs, and that there never has been military training for foreign citizens on Hungarian territory.

Army Ready To Cooperate With Slovakia, Visegrad Group

LD1203165293 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] The quantity of staff and combat technology of the Hungarian Army poses no threat to the surrounding states. This was said by Andras Nagy, military and air force attache at the Hungarian Embassy in Bratislava, during his talks with Igor Urban, state secretary in the Defense Ministry of the Slovak Republic, in Bratislava today.

He emphasized that Hungary is ready to receive visits by military experts from Slovakia and that it intends to continue the cooperation with its Army within the Visegrad Group.

Walesa Approves Piatkowski as Justice Minister

LD1503224793 Warsaw PAP in English 2226 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka filed a motion Monday [15 March] with the president to appoint Jan Piatkowski the new justice minister.

President Lech Walesa gave his approval to the candidate and the necessary formal arrangement will be completed in the near future, presidential spokesman announced today.

Piatkowski, 57, will replace Zbigniew Dyka, also of the Christian National Union (ZCHN), who resigned last Friday following pressure from the prime minister dissatisfied with Dyka's performance.

Piatkowski has been the chairman of the Sejm (lower house) Committee on Ethnic and National Minorities.

Sejm Body Recommends Exposure of Police Agents

AU1503152693 Warsaw PAP in English 1714 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—Agents and collaborators of the former communist secret services in Poland should be exposed to the public, but access to employment in the state administration should not be closed to them, the Sejm (lower house) subcommittee preparing vetting legislation on vetting procedures announced today.

The subcommittee decided by a vote of 8 to 6 that restrictions should not be imposed on former collaborators, and also agreed that the legislation itself should define the limits of the vetting procedure.

The subcommittees work relates to two draft laws on vetting procedures, produced by the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) and the Liberal-Democratic Congress (KLD). Its findings are preliminary, and now pass before four other Sejm commissions.

Also today, former Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz claimed that if President Walesa's claim is true, that all documents concerning secret service collaborators in Gdansk province have been destroyed, then the destruction must have taken place after June 4, 1992 (the date of the fall of the anticommunist Jan Olszewski government). Macierewicz asserted that there are witnesses able to back this up, and suggested that those responsible were still employed at the Interior Ministry.

Macierewicz was interior minister in the Olszewski government, which was voted out of office on June 4 by the Sejm in the wake of the controversy surrounding the release of Interior Ministry files allegedly relating to secret service collaborators.

Sejm Body Views Alleged Surveillance of Opposition

AU1503150393 Warsaw PAP in English 2019 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—The Sejm (lower house) Committee for Administration and Internal Affairs met behind closed doors today to discuss secret instructions concerning the State Protection Office (UOP), which allegedly authorise surveillance of opposition political parties.

Afterwards, Artur Balazs, chairman of the commission, announced that it had not reached a conclusion on the matter, and refused to comment on the matter until all expert reports had been received.

According to Centre Accord (PC) leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the instructions in question date back to 1992. However, Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski has denied that the UOP is authorised to investigate the opposition. He refused on Friday [12 March] morning to hand over the text of the instructions, on the grounds that such a move would reveal the internal workings of the intelligence services.

UOP head Jerzy Konieczny, while accepting that there were "some uncertainties" in the instructions, stressed that the UOP is not conducting, and has not in the past conducted, surveillance of any political organisations.

All participants in the session, including Jaroslaw Kaczynski and UOP head Jerzy Konieczny, agreed to keep details of the proceedings a secret.

Szwonder Extradition Delayed Due To Health

AU1503150693 Warsaw PAP in English 1827 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—The Committee for the Defence of Rajmund Szwonder, former director of the Lucznik arms-producing company in Radom, now under arrest in Germany on charges of illegal arms dealing with Iraq, today accused the American authorities of "provocation" over their application for Szwonder's extradition to the United States.

About 200 demonstrators participated in a demonstration outside the German Embassy in Warsaw, organised by the committee.

In a protest addressed to the German ambassador, they claimed that Szwonder, arrested in Frankfurt am Main in March 1992, "had become an unintentional victim of an American provocation to eliminate competition in the arms trade."

The protesters said that the German willingness to extradite Szwonder from Germany to the U.S. as quickly as possible, despite the absence of strong American pressure, confirms a supposition that the German authorities had taken part in preparing the Frankfurt

provocation. The demonstrators said that quoting international law and the U.S.-German extradition treaty as an excuse could not absolve the German authorities.

German Ambassador Franz Bertele, receiving the petition, told the demonstrators that Szwonder would not be extradited to the U.S. if the impending medical check-up shows that this would endanger his health. He stressed that if the Americans withdrew the extradition motion, the German authorities have no further need to continue to hold Szwonder in custody in Germany.

The demonstrators also staged a protest outside the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw.

Also on Friday [12 March], demonstrators from the Committee for the Defence of Rajmund Szwonder handed over to the Polish Foreign Ministry a total of 70 million zlotys (4,200 dollars), collected by workers at the Lucznik factory and other workplaces, to help cover the costs of Szwonder's legal defence in the United States.

Minister Says Government Will Adhere To IMF Agreement

LD1503181893 Warsaw PAP in English 1802 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 15—Poland will live up to the conditions set by the recently signed agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for the period of the first quarter of this year, Finance Minister Jerzy Osiatynski told journalists on Monday [15 March].

The Polish-IMF stand by arrangement was accepted by IMF on March 8 and is valid until April, 1994, during which time Poland is to receive 476 SDR (Special Drawing Rights) or some 670 million dollars in five identical installments.

The IMF will monitor Poland's performance to decide whether each next installment should be paid. The criteria include the size of budgetary deficit, reserves, credits granted by the Central Bank to the government, and the banking system. The IMF particularly wants to see how the money influx is controlled and whether budgetary spending is sufficiently disciplined.

These criteria were precisely described in the signed document covering the first half of this year and they will be checked in June. After that criteria for the latter half of the year will be determined. The results of performance checking in December, 1993, will influence the second phase of the reduction of Poland's debt with the Paris Club. The reduction of this 33 billion-dollar debt by 50 percent is expected in April, 1994, Osiatynski said.

On Tuesday Minister Osiatynski leaves for the United States where he will negotiate U.S. financial support for the servicing of the debts with the Paris and London Clubs. In the U.S. he will meet with Secretary of the Treasury Lloyd Bentsen, IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus, and senior officials of the World Bank.

Solidarity Demonstration Calls For Budget Changes

AU1503140493 Warsaw PAP in English 2154 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—The Solidarity trade union staged a demonstration in Warsaw today to protest against cuts in this year's budget spending on education, science, culture and health protection as well as against the planned decrease in the wages of public sector employees.

It is estimated that some 2-3 thousand protesters led by Solidarity leader Marian Krzaklewski and Maciej Jankowski, chairman of Solidarity's Mazowsze chapter, gathered in front of the Finance Ministry building before marching off to the Cabinet Office with a petition to the government.

Addressing the demonstration, Krzaklewski announced that in its further negotiations with the government Solidarity will be demanding amendments to the budget and tax the policy as well as a new health insurance law.

This demonstration is an expression of solidarity by the members of our union from the public and the manufacturing sectors, he said. If firm and radical antirecession policy is introduced in the manufacturing sector than the situation of the public sector should change for the better, too. We shall not be divided, he said. Our protest must bring institutional, organizational and personal changes, Krzaklewski declared.

Mazowsze Solidarity leader Maciej Jankowski stressed on his part that "this struggle is waged not merely for wages or in defence of basic economic needs but for the future of Poland."

The pressure must not stop today, it should be permanent, he continued.

A delegation of the demonstrating Solidarity unionists was received in the afternoon by Deputy Prime Minister Henryk Goryszewski. Upon receiving the petition with demands, Goryszewski addressed the protesters to explain that "neither the government nor the prime minister wanted cuts in the budget". He recalled that Premier Hanna Suchocka has promised to earmark all available additional means for the public sector. He also proposed talks with the unionists which could lead to "reasonable corrections in decisions" if it turns out that "errors have been made or there exist other possibilities of distributing budget means".

Goryszewski also referred to foreign loans for huge investment programmes "which should shortly give jobs to the unemployed and revenues to the budget."

The demonstrators, whose number increased to some 5-6 thousand later in the afternoon, marched from the Cabinet Office to the Parliament building. There, a delegation of Solidarity unionists and their leader Marian Krzaklewski were invited for talks by Senate

Speaker August Chelkowski and Sejm (lower house) Deputy Speaker Andrzej Kern, who suggested that public sector unionists should consider jointly with the parliamentary committees possible changes in the law to improve the situation in education, culture and the health service.

Walesa, EC Official Discuss Integration, Reform

WS1503134593 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1100 GMT 15 Mar 93

[From the "Wiadomosci" newscast]

[Text] Lech Walesa received in the Belvedere Hans Van Den Broek, EC commissar for political contacts with abroad. The president stressed that Poland expected the European Community to specify the integration schedule. It was not a coincidence that Hans Van Den Broek started his journey to the Visegrad states with talks in Warsaw. As he emphasized during the talk with President Walesa, the European Community very highly evaluated the progress of Polish political and economic reforms. As the first and only East European country, Poland recorded economic growth last year. In the afternoon, Hans Van Den Broek will meet with Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka and Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, minister of integration with the European Communities.

Walesa Seeks Right To Review Treaties

AU1503141093 Warsaw PAP in English 2022 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—President Lech Walesa has proposed that the Presidency should have the right to submit international treaties to the Constitutional Tribunal for an opinion on their compatibility with the Constitution, the Presidential Office announced today.

Under the present arrangements, the Constitutional Tribunal can only consider domestic legislation, and its rulings can be rejected by a ⅔ majority vote in the Sejm (lower house of Parliament).

However, Andrzej Gliniecki, director of the Legal Office of the Presidential Chancellery, said that this arrangement did not guarantee that the constitutional requirement of a separation of powers between the legislature and the executive would be upheld. Also, it was "insufficient" to refuse the Tribunal the power to examine international agreements.

The president also proposed changes in the appointment of members of the Constitutional Tribunal, including a proposal to allow the Tribunal to elect its own president (at present, he is appointed by the Sejm).

Foreign Ministry To Tighten Entry Regulations

AU1503145993 Warsaw PAP in English 2123 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Warsaw, March 12—Poland will not introduce visa requirements to control the flow of former Soviet citizens across its borders, but it will tighten up its entry regulations, the Foreign Ministry announced in Warsaw today.

Tomasz Lis, director of the Consular and Refugee Department at the ministry, told reporters that it is essential to tighten border controls, given the increasing pressure from the east on Poland's borders. He added that Poland is currently engaged in discussions with her eastern neighbours on the possibility of requiring them to offer readmission guarantees, but the Foreign Ministry opposes any calls to introduce visas, since this might lead to reciprocal measures against Poland.

Lis noted that, despite the suspension of visa requirements for Russian citizens as of January 1, there had been no appreciable increase in traffic, partly because the Russian authorities have not yet begun to issue new-style passports to replace the Soviet ones.

Commenting on the German Government's proposals to introduce a tough new asylum law, which would possibly lead to the expulsion of thousands of refugees to Poland and other countries, Lis said that it was essential to conclude a series of readmission agreements with Poland's eastern neighbours. Negotiations with most of the ex-Soviet republics are now in progress, he noted.

Lis also called for a new law on foreigners, which he hoped could be introduced in Poland within the next few months.

Croatia's Skrabalo Arrives for Official Visit

AU1503135693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1103 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 15/3/1993—Zdenko Skrabalo, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Croatia, started an official visit in Romania on March 15. The guest was welcomed at the Otopeni Airport by Romanian Foreign Minister Theodor Melescanu.

During his visit, that will end on March 17, Minister Zdenko Skrabalo will have talks with his Romanian counterpart and will be received by the prime minister and by Romania's president. The first-day schedule include the signing ceremony of official documents of cooperation between Romania and Croatia.

The Croatian foreign minister told the press on his arrival at the Otopeni Airport: "I am very pleased to be in Bucharest at head of a Croatian delegation. We think we will continue on this occasion our consultations that started as early as Croatia's recognition by Romania (January 1992). It is very remarkable to us that one of the first statesmen to visit Zagreb was Mr. Ion Iliescu, back in 1990. I had after that the opportunity to conduct talks with Mr. Adrian Nastase in August 1992, when he visited our country. I am glad now to continue these talks with my Romanian colleague Mr. Melescanu."

Iliescu, Skrabalo Discuss Talks

AU1503195293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1828 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1993—Romania's President Ion Iliescu received today at the Cotroceni Palace the minister of external affairs of Croatia, Zdenko Skrabalo, who is paying a two-day visit to Romania.

On behalf of President Tudjman of Croatia, the guest handed the president of Romania an invitation to visit Croatia.

The president and the Croatian foreign minister focused their talk on the need for a political settlement in the Yugoslav conflict through assigning a greater importance to the Vance-Owen peace plan, while expressing their hope the Paris negotiations will bring a peaceful solution.

The sides approached also the prospects of developing their bilateral political and economic relations.

Present at the interview was the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Teodor Melescanu.

Ties With Croatia Reviewed

AU1503213093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1938 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1993—Monday afternoon, 15 March, Romania's Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu received the minister of external affairs of Croatia, Zdenko Skrabalo, now on a visit to Romania.

The prime minister and his guest reviewed the bilateral relations between the two countries. Prime Minister Vacaroiu suggested that Romania and Croatia should conclude economic, cultural cooperation agreements, and should make arrangements for the mutual protection of their investments.

Relative to the conflict in former Yugoslavia, both sides agreed that the only way to follow is that of a pacific settlement.

Foreign Minister Skrabalo underlined that, to be solved, the conflict in former Yugoslavia needed international assistance, first and foremost from neighboring countries, among which Romania was supposed to play an important part. He also pleaded for a sustained regional cooperation.

Premier Vacaroiu asked the Croat foreign minister to convey to the prime minister of the Republic of Croatia the invitation to visit Romania in his official capacity.

Melescanu, Skrabalo Make Statements

AU1503195093 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Excerpts] The first round of talks between the ministers of foreign affairs of Romania and Croatia, Messrs. Teodor Melescanu and Zdenko Skrabalo, took place in Bucharest today. [passage omitted]

After the end of the first round of talks between the Croatian and Romanian foreign ministers, Zdenko Skrabalo and Teodor Melescanu, the two dignitaries made brief statements exclusively to our radio station.

Mr. Teodor Melescanu said, quote: "Actually the discussion focused on Mr. Skrabalo's report on developments in the former Yugoslavia. It is Romania's desire that the positive relations Romania maintained with the former Yugoslav federation turn into positive relations with all the former republics," unquote. He assured his counterpart that as far as Romania is concerned there is no interest or desire in an alliance with some of them against the others.

As a matter of fact, the political contacts which I have also had with Croatia demonstrate Romania's desire to have an equidistant position on this question. I have expressed my intention, Mr. Teodor Melescanu continued, to seek and find a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav problem. We have to continue political contacts, including at the highest level, and to review especially the legal framework, because we had understandings with former Yugoslavia and the problem is posed of giving material shape to accords and understandings in the economic, consular, and other areas with the Croatian state.

Mr. Teodor Melescanu announced the intention of the Romanian side to initiate a general treaty of cooperation

at the level of experts with the Croatian side. In conclusion he announced the readiness to impart the experience gained by Romania in relations with world and European bodies to the Croatian side.

In his turn, Mr. Zdenko Skrabalo, Croatian foreign minister, said, quote: "We are very satisfied with the first part of the talks we have conducted. We have had an exchange of views. I tried to explain Croatia's position, what the situation in Croatia is like, and what the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is like. I have become acquainted with Romania's viewpoint and I noted that we hold more or less the same position on all questions discussed," unquote. We will continue our discussions this afternoon, Mr. Skrabalo said, specifically in the economic area with the minister of commerce. I will have the honor of meeting the prime minister and the president of the republic, and in the evening we will hold a second round of talks, the Croatian guest specified.

Cooperation Protocol Signed

AU1503213293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2000 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1993—A protocol of cooperation between the foreign ministries of Romania and Croatia was signed Monday, 15 March in Bucharest by the two countries' foreign ministers, Teodor Melescanu and Zdenko Skrabalo.

The document institutionalizes political dialogue between the two ministries at all levels, regular consultations on matters of economic and commercial relations, bilateral cooperation in technology, science, culture, consular affairs, humanitarian problems, environment protection, press and information. They will also confer on matters related to cooperation in the CSCE and the Council of Europe, to regional cooperation with its international extensions.

After the signing ceremony, the two foreign ministers told the press:

Zdenko Skrabalo: "It is a symbolical moment beyond which lies a great amount of work, because we have started a fruitful cooperation, both bilateral and multilateral."

Teodor Melescanu: "I wish to stress that this document is part of a process that started once the two countries established relations. It will go on with fundamenting a new legal framework, with the conclusion between our countries of treaties covering various domains.

"Both Mr. Skrabalo and I have expressed our hope that a solution would soon be found to stop the conflict in Yugoslavia, which, if successful, will enable talks apt to lead to a much wider cooperation between the former Yugoslav republics and their neighboring countries. Anyway, Romania and Croatia are determined to continue their political dialogue to the highest level. Our wish for developing our cooperation is therefore, we think, going the right way."

Melescanu Meets British Foreign Office Official

AU1503185893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1750 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1993—While on a fact-finding visit in Romania, David Logan, undersecretary of state and assistant at the British Foreign Office, was received at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Logan's visit is a preamble to the forthcoming visit to London of the Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu, of other important political contacts between members of the two governments, and part of the mutual effort to give more dynamism to the Romanian-British relations.

The guest had talks with both Foreign Minister Melescanu and other high officials of the ministry, centered on the United Kingdom and Romania's chances to intensify the political dialogue between them and on the manner in which Great Britain could further assist Romania integrate into the European institutions.

Opposition Parliamentarians Submit Censure Motion

AU1503142393 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Mar 93 p 3

[Text of "Censure Motion" submitted to parliament by the opposition in connection with Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu's reform strategy]

[Text]

The Undersigned Deputies and Senators:

Having examined the program put forward in Parliament by the government, entitled "The Socioeconomic Reform Strategy of the Government Program," and noted the actual political measures adopted by the government during the 100 days that have elapsed since its inauguration;

Having come to the conclusion that the document presented is not actually a government program, but rather a set of diverse and contradictory sociopolitical options which lack tangible solutions, terms of application, and the sources available to implement them;

Having noted that the principles put forward in the document reintroduce a regime of guided bureaucracy and centralist authoritarianism, which can only slow down or halt the economic process and thus prolong the transition process at enormous cost;

Acknowledging the fact that the government, which was invested on 19 November 1992 without presenting a government program at that time, today refuses to assume—in Parliament and before the nation—responsibility for the socioeconomic reform strategy which it submitted on 4 March 1993;

Pursuing the aim of avoiding the population's further dissatisfaction—something that could give rise to another authoritarian regime, which would be extremely dangerous in the post-communist geo-political situation in Europe—as well as the sharpening of inter-ethnic tension determined by the lack of a tangible government policy regarding ethnic minorities—from the point of view of concept and institutional level—that respects the realities in our country and European standards in this respect;

Being desirous of strengthening political, economic, and social stability, whose sole foundation is represented by uniting all positive efforts in our country on the basis of a realistic and coherent program for which the government assumes responsibility;

On the basis of the provisions of Article 112 of Romania's Constitution, formulate the following CENSURE MOTION by appealing to all members of Romania's Parliament:

1. To note that through its poor governing performance and lack of programmatic orientation, the current government is guiding the country toward a political, economic, and social crisis in the short run and toward a restoration [of the former regime] and stagnation in the medium run, while from a long-term point of view it is leading the country toward a model that is characterized by autocracy, mass poverty, and instability.

2. To withdraw their confidence granted to the current government in order to open the road toward a new government formula that enjoys strong parliamentary support, is attached to the principles of morality, is determined to meet its promises, and is able to implement a program that really continues the reform process and ensures the elimination, in the shortest time possible, of injustice and the serious pressure to which most citizens in our country are subjected.

PNTCD's Reasons for Censure Motion

AU1503162093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1509 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1993—The decision that a motion of censure be tabled against the Vacaroiu Government now and not after the May liberalization of prices was caused by moral reasons, Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party, PNTCD, told a Monday, March 15, press conference.

"A motion of censure after the 1st of May would have used the discontent of the population with the price liberalization, which would have been incorrect, considering that if we had had the power, we should have promoted the transition ourselves," added Corneliu Coposu.

The PNTCD leader said the motion would have not been necessary, had the government assumed responsibility for its programme.

The opposition considers that the reform strategy of the Vacaroiu Cabinet had to be submitted to parliament for vote. Premier Vacaroiu, for his part, maintains that the said strategy is part of the governing programme, already adopted by parliament, even if in a short form, and no vote is necessary this time.

Attacks On Motion Viewed

AU1303180593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1605 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/3/1993—Friday, 12 March, National Salvation Front [FSN] President Petre Roman expressed his surprise at "the vehement criticism the present power opposed to the vote of censure moved in Parliament," and labeled the position of the two presidents of the houses Oliviu Gherman (Senate) and Adrian Nastase (Assembly of Deputies) as "antidemocratic" and as having "aggressively attacked the opposition when the motion was brought before Parliament."

About the moment chosen for the subsidy cuts (May) and the enforcement of the value added tax (July), speculated by analysts as favourable for an opposition's move of censure, the FSN leader said the above measures, intended by the previous Roman and Stolojan cabinets too, could not have been censured, not by his party at least.

Asked to refer to an alternative governing programme, Petre Roman said that during the election campaign his party had proposed its version of a programme which indicated concrete solutions and financing sources. He reasserted his party's main political objective.

Tudor on Censure Vote

AU1203195393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1852 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Rompres 12/3/1993—"The so-called censure vote called in Parliament by the opposition against the Vacaroiu government is a miscalculation" said Corneliu Vadim Tudor, president of the Greater Romania Party [PRM] in a press conference on March 12.

"The parliamentary majority is comfortable and sufficient for a success in discussions and the ensuing vote," he opined, would "turn like a boomerang against the opposition."

In his opinion the hidden purpose behind this act is the opposition's wish to "totally take over the power by changing Iliescu, bringing Mihai (ex-king of Romania) and filling up the prisons." In that context, the PRM president considers that a success of the opposition, which would trigger a government crisis, will smooth the way for a military dictatorship and this is not desirable in the country's present situation.

Concurrently Corneliu Vadim Tudor opined that rejection of the censure vote would strengthen Premier Vacaroiu's position and that of Romanian President Iliescu.

The PRM president also tackled his party delegation's meeting with the rapporteurs of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, which he termed as "extremely useful," and rejected the statements made by Chief Rabbi Moses Rosen and Mr. Gheorghe Raducanu during similar meetings to the effect that "the 'greater Romania' mass phenomenon determines oppression of the Jewish and Gypsy minorities."

The speaker also expressed his astonishment at the publication by NEW YORK TIMES of an article on "The Rule of the Gag Rules in Romania," in which an accusation is made that in Romania the principles of democracy are breached in the secret ballot procedures. "There's no gagging," he said, "just the same old misinformation campaign."

PSM Backs Government, But No 'Blank Check'

AU1503162193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1518 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1993—Deputy Tudor Mohora re-asserted at a Monday, March 15, press conference, that the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM] was backing the Vacaroiu Government. We have been outspoken in expressing our stance as far as the reform strategy is concerned. We do not entirely agree with it, but we think the government is legal, it has been invested in keeping with the constitution and we shall continue to support it," specified Mr. Mohora.

Tudor Mohora admitted the opposition had a right to table a motion of censure when it considers it necessary, but maintained the opposition had no coherent alternative to the government programme at that moment.

While mentioning that PSM was giving the government no "blank cheque," Mr. Mohora drew attention on the May 1 moment, when all subsidies are cut, and opined that the realities in Romania did not call for that, that this was an IMF scenario. The speaker added, once again, that the economic decline had to be put an end to, together with the lowering of the living standards, which once unbearable could cause mass movements.

Vacaroiu, IMF Official Discuss Financing

AU1603094793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0822 GMT 16 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 16/3/1993—Romania's prime minister, Nicolae Vacaroiu, received on Monday, 15 March, a delegation of the International Monetary Fund [IMF] headed by Maxwell Watson [name as received], now on a working visit to Romania.

The meeting was attended by Mugur Isarescu, governor of the National Bank of Romania and by Doina Jalea, spokeswoman for the government.

On the occasion, extensive studies were made on the effects of the forthcoming elimination of the subsidies, on 1 May, and of the introduction, on 1 July, of the value added tax, as well as the costs for restructuring Romania's economy, especially on a micro-economic plane. Romania's premier appreciated that the Romanian Government would make an attentive selection, within the process of economic restructuring, of the viable commercial companies and of those without any prospects. For re-capitalization of those with a better future, the government suggested that 50 percent of the dividends going to the state should remain with the companies. Another source of capitalizing viable enterprises, said the Romanian premier, would be represented by the amounts coming out of the sales of assets, part of which are going to remain at the companies' disposal for enlarging their capital.

As for the elimination of the financial blockage in economy, Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu mentioned that a strict contractual discipline would be introduced as well as a strict financial discipline within each commercial company. In this respect, the government set up regulations to organize an internal financial control. Furthermore, the premier pointed out the fact that Romania's Parliament was currently working on a series of draft laws related to a better course of the reform.

Maxwell Watson pointed out the scope of the mission he was heading, showing that the IMF representatives were particularly interested in technical details regarding the law on the state budget, that they were willing to more closely get acquainted with the way in which the government and the State Property Fund were involved in the financing of bigger enterprises, as well as with the measures the executive was to take for strengthening financial discipline at all levels of Romania's economy.

Watson stated that IMF experts were particularly impressed by the general concept on the strategy of the economic and social reform in Romania and that Romania has to be supported in its efforts for transition by foreign financing.

The IMF delegation also had meetings with the governor of the National Bank of Romania and with the Minister of Finance [Florin Georgescu].

The IMF delegation will also hold, on the coming days, various meetings with representatives of ministries, banks, and other state bodies in Romania, and by the end of the week, during a meeting with the Romanian prime minister, with members of the government and with other decision makers in Romania. The IMF mission is to make an evaluation of the situation and present its conclusions.

Negritoiu Discusses Reform Program

AU1403155293 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 10 Mar 93 p 6

[Part one of interview with Misu Negritoiu, minister of state and president of the Coordination, Strategy, and

Economic Reform Council, by Liana Sega; place and date not given: "What We Are Doing Now Is a Forced March"]

[Text] [Sega] Mr. Minister, for a long time—ever since you joined the Vacaroiu Government—we have been hearing rumors to the effect that you probably want to resign. What can you say about these rumors?

[Negritoiu] The idea of resignation has never occurred to me. I have no reason to think about it, and I have never discussed this subject, except for those instances when it was suggested to me or I was asked about it. For the time being, my resignation is only a rumor and speculation. Generally speaking, resignation is a step that is available to everyone, and anyone can take it when there are real reasons for it. It might also represent an alternative not to cling to one's position, or in broader terms, to cling to power. However, if at a certain point I were to consider that my viewpoint is incompatible with what is asked from me—like for example, the lack of possibility to implement the reform program the way we worked it out, and the way I believe it should be implemented, without pretending that I am the holder of the monopoly on truth—I believe it would be a moral gesture to turn the position over to someone else. However, I do not have any reason to take such a step, especially considering that a great number of my ideas and even my reform options are included in the strategy of economic and social reform.

[Sega] One can hear practically everywhere that you are the true author of those documents with which the current government started on its path. What is your opinion about this role of "gray eminence" that is attributed to you?

[Negritoiu] It would be too much to assume copyright, at least because I would do an injustice to those who actually worked on this strategy, both in the stage of documentation and editing the studies on various subjects and in editing the final work. I was the coordinator of this editorial team and discussed with it various stages of the program, starting with the draft and structure and ending with its final form, and I also discussed several solutions. Nevertheless, I cannot say that I worked out this strategy. This document is also the result of a collective thinking. Certainly, when distributing various tasks, responsibility, and functions, somebody had to take charge of the whole work, and in accordance with my duties, I am in charge of conceiving, correcting, and launching the reform policy. However, this does not mean that the others did not make a contribution to it, especially considering that this work was discussed in various institutions starting with the Consultative Commission, the Interministerial Committee, and ending with the government. We might say, now that the work has been concluded, that it is a collective work and that actually the program belongs to the government.

[Sega] The first commentaries on the strategy all refer to the fact that the respective work has a strong liberal note. Do you agree with these remarks?

[Negritoiu] I think that this is a false issue. Certainly, everything we are doing is much more liberal than before 1989. The entire transformation process and the elimination of certain encroachment in economy and society implicitly means liberalism. The Americans, for example, do not use the word "liberalism" and as you know, they do not have liberal parties, because liberalism is their way of life. In our country, liberalism is sometimes used as a political label that might cause aversion. I believe that this is an exaggeration. Therefore, I say that this is a false problem. Generally speaking, eliminating malfunctions in the economy, organizing appropriate market institutions, and ensuring the functioning of the market without interference, actually means liberalism. Although this model of market economy cannot be bypassed, it should not be labeled as liberal, meaning "money-oriented policy" or "pure liberalism" as the term is used in the classical theory. As a matter of fact, our approach lacks certain purely liberalism notes, mainly in the part that refers to economic restructuring and structural restructuring and adjustment.

[Sega] The government, of which you are a member, was accused of losing, in the three months that have elapsed since its investiture, four very important foreign financing sources. Is there any justification for this failure?

[Negritoiu] I believe that it is too much to say that the government "lost" those opportunities; this is an exaggeration. You can well remember that the two previous governments used to constantly invoke the lack or the delay of foreign financing means as the reason for not implementing certain reform measures. Romania has not been spoiled at all in the past three years with a flow of foreign sources, either for loans or direct investment. Each time Romania received a short-notice assistance, almost from one day to the next, and very often the installments of the loans from international bodies or those that were obtained through bilateral contracts were postponed for various reasons.

Maybe the main reason for this trouble is the development of the economy and reform on the whole; and this cannot be blamed on the current government: When one takes over a certain management one takes it with its positive and negative elements; one cannot mark the boundary. The effects of prior causes are sometimes felt after the change of government. The rotation of governments has to be borne in mind and, unfortunately, we obviously make forced divisions between them.

Returning to the four financial sources that you say "have been wasted." I have to specify the following: Loans for urgent imports (that is critical loans) and loans for medicare were contracted in 1991-1992, and they have not been completely used; they are in the process of

being used. For this purpose, there are certain procedures that take time and the money is not spent, or not all of it is spent. There are some loans—such as loans for urgent critical imports—which are no longer needed. In the meantime, other sources have been identified, and it would be a pity to use the money ineffectively. Within the loan in question, there is the element of technical assistance worth several scores of millions, which actually are no longer needed when bearing in mind that, on the whole, our option and the requirements of the economy prompt the channeling of foreign loans toward investment projects rather than toward technical assistance. We can take care of technical assistance from nonrefundable loan programs. When these loans were contracted, there were no nonrefundable loan programs.

We are currently working on loans for medicare [as published]; we are going through procedural aspects and are trying to identify concrete projects.

As for the two installments from the IMF and World Bank, they are not lost but only postponed, because we do not meet certain performance criteria, which the current government cannot assume by any means; anyhow, they could not have been achieved in a period of three months. We have to work in this direction for a whole year. I am referring, for instance, to the restructuring of corporations, which has not been done and could not be done within a month, and to speeding up the privatization process, meaning a certain number of companies that had to be privatized, something that had to take place over the entire year of 1992. However, this was not decisive. What was decisive was the macroeconomic balance, which has deteriorated because of the accumulation of certain economic effects over a longer period than our current government period. What I want to say is that the situation of the two installments and the situation of loans for medicare purposes and for critical imports is not an unusual situation characterizing this government. It is a typical situation that characterized the other governments, too. This is a situation we propose to eliminate at least in the future. In the coming two to three months we will focus on making complete use of loans.

[Sega] It would have been logical for the government at the beginning of a rather difficult road to ask the parliament for a vote of confidence to correctly assess the political support it enjoys before the "assault." Despite this, the government did not only not initiate such an action, but it even eschewed it, thus risking to incur a lot of accusations. What is the explanation?

[Negritoiu] Based on our short experience, asking for a vote of confidence seems to me logical and normal when we discuss—in principle—how one should act in a genuine democracy. However, we are at the beginning of democracy and still learning, although we are making considerable progress.

In the situation you have mentioned, certainly the government has to express its option: If it thinks that it needs such support, the government may ask for a vote of confidence, especially when it comes up with an impressive platform aimed at essential changes in the economic structure of society.

However, our government believes that the basic trend of this platform has been presented and endorsed and that the strategy that was presented in Parliament on Friday, 5 March, is designed to provide details and develop the program presented in November; it does not digress, in any way, from the principles and objectives endorsed at that time.

I myself have repeatedly stressed that the achievement of such a socioeconomic reform program needs political support—each government action needs comfortable political support—and a social pact. There is a feeling that we are not going through a period of crisis, that the government is not facing a crisis, that there are no genuine reasons to request a vote of confidence, and that the concurrence that will be achieved during the parliament debates on this strategy may mean political support. As a matter of fact, the strategy we have formulated includes elements of great opening that may reflect the views of any political force when bearing in mind that, after all, the transition process has its own rules and that, regardless of who is in power, certain compulsory steps have to be taken. If this fact is accepted, without any reservations, and if the parties represented in Parliament implicitly agree to this, without any reservations, then I do not understand why this should not equal a vote of confidence.

Alleged Involvement in East-West Arms Deals

AU1503151593 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 12 Mar 93 p 8

[Article by Emil Berdeli: "Romanian Private Companies Climbing Rapidly in the Charts of World Arms Trade"]

[Text] Very reliable confidential sources have revealed to us that a number of [Romanian] companies have been trying to purchase weapons, military aircraft, helicopters, and tanks, and radium, vanadium, and red mercury from Moscow.

Elisabeta Ana Stefanescu, one of the top executives of the Tecnotours SRL company, which has its headquarters in suite 303 of the Diplomat Hotel in Bucharest, together with Anatoli Ivanov, director-general of Busik Ltd., and Eduard Hiznicenco, director-general of the Cominet SRL trading company, [all names as published] paid a visit to Moscow between 31 December 1992 and 3 January 1993. While in the Russian capital, the three persons negotiated the purchase of MiG 29-type airplanes (price: $50-55 million), MI-8-T-type helicopters (price: over $2.3 million), AKM AK-47-type submachine-guns (price: $179-149 each), IGLA-type systems [sistem "IGLA"] (price: $37,900), MI-26-type helicopters (price: $19 million) and MI-35-type helicopters (price: $13 million), SU-24-type military aircraft (price:

$26 million), and T-72 and T-80-type tanks (price: $1.3 and $1.6 million, respectively [as published]).

The three mentioned companies also negotiated the purchase of radium, wolfram, and red mercury, with Eduard Hiznicenco of the Cominet SRL trading company acting as middleman. The mentioned substances can also be used for the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

We found these pieces of information even more interesting after we learned from other sources that in the month of January last year, in her Villa 45 [as published] in Snagov, Elisabeta Ana Stefanescu has received several visits from Diaconescu and Marian [names as published], persons who introduced themselves as SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] employees.

We would also like to note that the above-mentioned person [Stefanescu] is used a mediator between Russian and Italian arms dealers.

Tudor's Adulation at PRM Convention Viewed

AU1303203793 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 8 Mar 93 p 2

[Silviu Achim, Ion M. Ionita article: "C.V.T.'s Contemporaries: The First Congress of the Romania Mare Party]

[Excerpts] On Saturday [6 March] Corneliu Vadim Tudor opened the proceedings of the first national convention of the Romania Mare Party [PRM] by reading an extensive report on the state of the party and the nation, which took him longer than two hours. Tudor, who is the author of the report, admitted himself that the ideas contained in it were, in broad terms, not new, because actually they were reflections concerning issues that had been absorbing him—and even obsessing him—over the past three years, and on which he had already expressed his views a number of times.

Here are some of his most blatant reflections:

—The first two cabinets of the post-December [1989] period were more disastrous for Romania's economy than World War II;

—The chaos was generated on purpose to subdue the country to international financial circles;

—The PRM firmly supports the republican form of government and considers the attempts of the former king to regain his throne as an assault against the integrity of the country that should be penalized as such;

—The PRM demands the expulsion from Romania of the "diabolic Hungarian agent," Laszlo Tokes, and that the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] be outlawed;

—Hungary had better not try to do to Romania what it did to Yugoslavia, or else it would disappear as a state;

—Any attempt to dismember Romania would lead to the third and last world war;

—Should the homeland be in jeopardy, national and workers' guards would be set up within 24 hours;

—Anything is possible in a country in which Gypsies have caricatures of kings and emperors [reference to Cioaba, King of all Romanies, and Iulian Emperor of all Romanies].

Vadim Tudor also said that he had been informed about the fact that certain separatist elements are preparing to split the party during the convention. However, the debates that followed did not signal any secessionist tendencies. On the contrary, one could say that almost all speakers acclaimed the work of the Steering Committee, the president, and the periodicals he publishes [reference to weekly ROMANIA MARE and magazine POLITICA]. Some of the speakers went even further in flattering him ("in the same way as in the past, when in hard times the Romanian nation gave birth to Stephen the Great, Michael the Brave, and Alexandru Ion Cuza, it now gave birth to the phenomenon called Greater Romania and Vadim," "a present-day Avram Iancu," "I am proud to be CVT's [Corneliu Vadim Tudor] contemporary," and so on) so that Tudor himself began to feel embarrassed; he then asked the speakers to avoid the re-emergence of sad reminiscences within PRM [reference to former dictator Ceausescu's adulation].

On the second day of the congress the party statute and program were adopted by unanimous vote. The delegates requested that after having pondered their proposals, the party leadership should elaborate the final form of those documents within 30 days. The largest part of the discussions concentrated on various articles of the statute. [passage omitted]

The voting of the new party leadership was the most disputed issue on the agenda. There was merely one candidate for the PRM presidency in the person of Corneliu Vadim Tudor. A few moments before the beginning of the ballot, Tudor suggested that some of the delegates should vote against him to avoid giving the impression that the PRM was a one-man, totalitarian party. He was elected with one abstention. [passage omitted]

Opposition, TV Director Discuss Coverage

AU1203194493 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1828 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 12/3/1993—A meeting took place on March 8 at the Chamber of Deputies headquarters, of representatives of all parliamentary parties in the opposition with the director-general of the television, reads a release given to the national agency ROMPRES by the National Salvation Front, the Democratic Convention, the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania and the director-general of the Romanian television.

The meeting, convened at the request of the respective parliamentary parties, was explained by their dissatisfaction with the way how the television observed its status as independent and neutral institution, with the way how it reflects the parliamentary life and the inconvenient

way in which the stand of the opposition parties' stand on matters of national importance is presented to public opinion.

The document stresses that an agreement was reached at the close of the meeting "on a number of questions, whereby the television commits itself to meet half-way the desiderata expressed by the participants." Among other things, it mentions: "the introduction of a television program devoted only to the parliamentary opposition, so as to secure an equilibrium between the presence on the air of the parliamentary majority and of the opposition parties, the regular organization of debates on parties, the regular organization of debates on major topics to which the opposition parties will appoint participants. The editors of the news programs will confine themselves to announcing the news, without comments. The selection of the standpoints expressed by various parties during parliamentary debates that are to be included in television programs will be made by every party by its representatives. The opposition parliamentary parties will designate a commission to intimate the television executives whenever television employees will express subjective, biased stands damaging the respective parties' image.

PSM, MSZMP Discuss Bilateral Relations

AU1503185693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1542 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1993—Talks were held Sunday, March 14, at Baile Felix, in North-West Romania, between the delegations of the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], Romania, and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP], led by Ilie Verdet and Gyula Thurmer, chairmen of the said parties, informed the PSM Propaganda Department.

A communique released on the occasion mentions that fruitful opinions were exchanged on the current situation and the evolution of the two parties. The sides underlined that it was necessary for the Romanian and Magyar peoples, that are "neighbors and friends" to develop their ties, to improve their relations, "to rule out tension under all forms, fuelled by forces interested in troubling the links between Romania and Hungary and quietness in this part of Europe."

UN Official's Message to Human Rights Symposium

AU1503162293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1511 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/3/1993—The UN undersecretary Ibrahim Fall [name as received] has sent a message to the participants in the international colloquium on "Reform of the International Institutions for the Protection of Human Rights" which is taking place in Bucharest, in order to express his conviction that Romania was an excellent example for such states as desire help to improve human rights protection activities.

Romania has signed an agreement for advisory services with the UN Human Rights Center.

The message also expresses hope that the Bucharest colloquium will formulate recommendations which could have a substantial influence at the world conference on human rights to take place in Vienna in June.

Nuclear Research Director on 1993 Prospects

AU1503113193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0828 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 15/3/1993—"Some 1.94 billion lei are earmarked in 1993 to nuclear research and development activities," told ROMPRES Iosif Bilegan, director of the Electricity National Corporation, nuclear power group (RENEL-GEN).

"This money is distributed to the main nuclear research units. The biggest amount—some 1.3 billion lei goes to the Pitesti Nuclear Research Institute."

Important amounts of money are planned for the nuclear research carried on by the Energy Study and Design Institute and the Energy Research and Updating Institute (about 400 million lei and 200 million lei respectively).

The activities will mainly focus on the concrete implementation of the investment program for the Cernavoda nuclear power station and the assimilation of new and updated products for the nuclear power engineering.

March Protests Deteriorating Living Standards

AU1503161893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1515 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 15/3/1993—The rally and protest march organised in Bucharest Monday, March 15, by the National Trade Union Block [BNS] have among their motivations the ever quicker degrading of people's living standards, stated BNS Chairman Matei Bratianu during a press conference.

By this rally the trade unions wish to give a last warning to the government, reminding it that the time has come to take their role seriously and stick by the word they gave during the election campaign of September 1992, he said.

"The trade unions do not wish to see the government fall. We desire a genuine, constructive dialogue and that the protocols we signed with the government be observed" Mr. Bratianu said.

Karadzic Satisfied With Milosevic Role in Plan

LD1303110193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0327 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—We are satisfied with the fact that Slobodan Milosevic has not assumed any obligation regarding the Bosnian Serbs, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, said last night in a phone-in program broadcast by Channel S, the Serbian Republic's television.

Commenting on the results of the meetings between the president of Serbia; Vance and Owen, cochairmen of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina; and French President Mitterand, Radovan Karadzic said according to SRNA, that Slobodan Milosevic made it clear to his partners that he is not able to influence the Bosnian Serbs as far as the maps are concerned and that agreement on this matter can only be reached by consensus among the three peoples.

"We do not favor minor cease-fires where our enemies are in a difficult position, and we do not favor a continuation of fighting in those place where it suits them. We favor a total end to the war," Radovan Karadzic stressed.

He added that the Muslim side should repeal the state of war and its military pact with Croatia and make efforts to consolidate the peace and negotiate territorial matters.

According to the president of the Serb republic, the Vance-Owen plan represents an inferior version and step backward compared to what Jose Cutillero and Carrington achieved in their capacity as mediators at the negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Carrington-Cutillero plan had a chance of saving Bosnia-Hercegovina because it would have been able to survive as a confederation of three constituent states and, with the passage of time, help its peoples get together," Karadzic said.

Pointing out that the Vance-Owen plan "threatens Bosnia-Hercegovina", Karadzic said: "According to this plan many people will be resettled, and it is a total delusion to contemplate that, for example, the Serbs who have fled Zenica will return to this town."

Karadzic is of the view that "the homogenization of the people" will ensue since "people will move to their own provinces." "This will not satisfy anyone while there remains tension between the provinces and the central authorities which can in no way be strong [as received] as the Muslim leadership is proposing now," Radovan Karadzic said.

In the same program, Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the Serb Republic, expressed his belief that the Muslim side will accept the map offered and that their hesitation, as he said, "is a ploy to gain something as they obviously have a powerful patron" who, "does not wish them well."

During the program, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic, also answered viewers' questions. Asked about the future status of Sarajevo, Karadzic said: "Apart from Belgrade, Sarajevo is the largest Serbian city. There are still 177,000 people, mostly Serbs, in the part of Sarajevo controlled by Serbian forces, so it must be Serbian. Whether the Serbs and Muslims govern Sarajevo on a 50-50 basis, with the Serbian municipalities formed before the war retaining their current powers, or whether there will be a territorial break, will be decided by the people," Radovan Karadzic said.

Finds Muslim Demands 'Totally Unacceptable'

AU1603093393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 16 Mar 93

[Text] The representatives of all three warring sides in the Bosnia-Hercegovina conflict are expected to arrive in New York today to continue negotiations on the former Yugoslav republic. The delegation of the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], which will be led by Radovan Karadzic, is travelling to New York today. This was reported by SRNA.

The delegation also includes Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Serbian Republic, Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the People's Assembly of the Serbian Republic, and Radomir Lukic, who is an adviser.

In a statement for SRNA, Radovan Karadzic said that the additional conditions set by the Muslim side for the continuation of the negotiations are totally unacceptable for the Serbs in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina. In the continuation of the negotiations, the Serbian delegation will primarily strive for the establishment of permanent peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. If an agreement on the maps cannot be found to the satisfaction of all three sides, the delegation of the Serbian Republic will demand that this issue be discussed on some other occasion, Karadzic said.

Bosnian Muslims Oppose Vance-Owen Maps

LD1503112593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0957 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 15 (TANJUG)—The Bosnia Moslem delegation travels to New York without the authorization to sign the Vance-Owen plan which divides Bosnia-Hercegovina into ten ethnic provinces. Moslem-controlled Sarajevo Radio has said citing conclusions reached at a joint session of the Moslem-Croat presidency, government and parliament held on Sunday. The provinces "are not and cannot be regarded as the property of any one nation," is said in one of the numerous conclusions which will serve "as an orientation point for the Moslem delegation in the continuation of the New York talks," the radio said. Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic told the same session that the maps "are unacceptable" and that they "must be changed." Since the outbreak of the civil, ethnic and religious war in Bosnia last year, the Bosnia Serbs have had no legally

elected representatives in this former Yugoslav republic's organs of power. The Bosnia Croats, the third party in the conflict, will be represented in New York by a delegation headed by Mate Boban from Herceg-Bosnia (formed in regions where the Croats are in the majority). Only the Bosnia Croats have so far signed the maps proposed by the co-chairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance and Lord David Owen. The Bosnia Serbs view the maps as unacceptable because they believe that one third of the Serbs in Bosnia would remain either in Moslem or Croat provinces.

The Moslems are opposed to the maps because they urge a unitary Bosnia—only a smokescreen for a Moslem fundamentalist state which they would dominate as the most numerous (if not as the majority) population. Izetbegovic told Sunday's session that if the representatives of the Serb Republic in Bosnia refuse to sign the Vance-Owen plan, he would "insist on the lifting of the arms embargo," Sarajevo Radio said.

Last year the United Nations Security Council banned the export of weapons to the entire territory of former Yugoslavia. The Moslems are repeatedly demanding an international army intervention in Bosnia and that they be supplied with arms to continue the war.

Government Bodies Meet; Izetbegovic on Peace Plan

LD1403151393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Report by Nada Rajkovic]

[Excerpts] The session of the Bosnian-Hercegovina Presidency, Assembly, and government is chaired by Abdulah Konjicija, president of the Chamber of Citizens, who said at the beginning that deputies from other parts of the country had set off to attend the session, but that aggressors had not allowed them to enter Sarajevo. [passage omitted]

[Begin Bosnian President Izetbegovic recording] The war will continue for a certain period of time, but it seems to me that it will gradually die down. How long this period will last depends, of course, on a number of circumstances, above all on whether the third side signs the [Vance-Owen] plan if we were to accept an amended version of the plan over the next few days. I say an amended version since the plan, such as it is, is unacceptable. An amended version could be accepted, I suppose—that depends on the decisions and stands that will be adopted here and on the decision made by our delegation [in New York], but at least a step will be made toward ending the war. The intensity of military operations will gradually ease and peace will be established. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Izetbegovic Discusses Peace Negotiations

LD1403215093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Excerpts] A joint meeting in Sarajevo of the assembly, the presidency, and the government of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina which was also attended by a number of invited guests was followed by our reporters Nada Rajkovic and Zdenko Jedruh:

[Rajkovic] Like others before, this meeting, attended by representatives of all the nations, shows that coexistence in Bosnia-Hercegovina is possible, Abdulah Konjicija, who presided over the session today, said at the start. A report on the work of the Bosnia-Hercegovina state delegation in the peace negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina was submitted by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency. [passage omitted]

[Jedruh] Following the debate, President Alija Izetbegovic took the floor again. He clarified several controversial questions and in conclusion attempted to formulate a series of conclusions which he expected to be adopted and which were eventually adopted today. These conclusions will be complemented by the conclusions to be adopted after a debate in Zenica conducted by the deputies who failed to reach Sarajevo. Let us hear now what Alija Izetbegovic said and the conclusions he proposed:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] First, that support, and I think it is unanimous support, is being given to the peace process as a process.

Second, that support, and I will not say unanimous again, is given to the state delegation for its work and efforts so far.

Third, that in its future work and efforts the state delegation should endeavor to secure the following at whatever cost:

1. That the issue of the status of Sarajevo is resolved in a just way.

2. That the borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina are guarded by organs of the state, in other words border police which would be under the jurisdiction of the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is our second point.

3. To insist on a transitional period or a transitional government with a mandate of 12 or a maximum of 18 months.

4. That in the transitional period, in addition to the presidency, the institution of government should be retained—as you know there was a question mark over this—a government which would be formed and function on a multinational and multiparty basis to reflect the existing parliament, and to reflect the situation in the parliament in its multiparty and multinational composition.

There will be no room for a one-nation or one-party government. We will insist that, as envisaged by the Vance-Owen plan, this government also includes the Ministry for Refugees and for the Reconstruction of Bosnia-Hercegovina in addition to those envisaged such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In our view, the issue of refugees is an issue of general interest in Bosnia-Hercegovina, while the reconstruction of the state is also an issue of general importance, in other words it is not a provincial issue, an issue to be within the competence of the provinces.

5. That a mechanism and real military forces are put in place to guarantee the implementation of a signed agreement, in particular in relation to two issues: To place heavy artillery under an effective international control; and to withdraw the forces of occupation to within designated areas, i.e. to barracks. We will insist that these are barracks and that the agreement stipulates that they are being withdrawn to such and such barracks near Banja Luka, near Prnjavor, etc. rather than to individual districts. We said that we would insist, that we would not sign any document that does not include a program of mechanisms for implementing it.

6. That it includes the right of all refugees to return to their homes; this in any case [word indistinct] on several occasions and also measures to ensure the immediate return of those who can return to liberated territories. For, as I have just said, we must not disregard [words indistinct] of many that there is at least a theoretical possibility for their return in the case of, for instance [word indistinct] refugees in Gacko, and unfortunately that is the situation.

7. As I said before, to try war criminals we will continue to press for a relevant document to be passed. I think that here we will have no problems for, as you can remember, the document on war tribunals was passed unanimously. There were no reservations about it, nor do I expect any in the future.

8. To compensate both the state and individuals. We will insist that this is included in our documents as well.

9. To reiterate that the provinces are not ethnically-defined areas, that no nation can lay claims to any of the provinces as its own, and that no nation would be treated as second-rate or as a national minority in any of the provinces.

10. If the chetniks fail to sign the document, we will insist that the embargo is lifted.

I propose these as our instructions or conclusions with which to empower our delegation. [end recording]

[Jarduh] This is how the meeting ended today. Deputies who were unable to reach Sarajevo and had to stay in Zenica will be informed about these conclusions when they resume their debate in Zenica at 1000 tomorrow.

Deputies Raise Objections to Peace Plan

AU1503160893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Smajl Terzic report from Zenica]

[Text] The session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Parliament is reminiscent of the circumstances surrounding the second AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] session, when deputies had to walk for days, or rather nights, dodging bullets, to reach Jajce to attend the session. That is a well-known event, but it appears that history repeats itself in the most gruesome of ways. Many deputies could not attend yesterday's session in Sarajevo, even though most had reached Sarajevo itself before a tank blocked the way. The session was devoted to everything concerning the life, peace, and the future of the long-suffering Bosnia-Hercegovina people. Anyway, that group of parliamentary deputies had to go to Zenica to discuss the same topic—the report by the state delegation on the progress of the peace talks in Geneva and New York.

Apart from the deputies from the regions of Zenica, Doboj, and Mostar, deputies from Banja Luka are also attending the session, as they are either in Zenica or some other city in the free territory of central Bosnia. During this report, and it is now 1445 [1345 GMT], prominent citizens, people engaged in the public and cultural sectors, and members of the armed forces are taking the stand to express their opinions. After reviewing all the material that was discussed yesterday in Sarajevo, Chairman Mirsad Ceman said: I remind you of the piece from Hamlet—To be or not to be, that is the question.

So far 18 deputies have spoken in that vein, supporting the report by our state delegation, but there have been certain objections. For example, Ahmed Alicic from Doboj asked if the signing of the documents meant that Bosnia-Hercegovina would be truly sovereign. Abdulah Tobdzic from Gornji Vakuf did not agree with the abolition of the army. Mehmedalija Susic from Zavidovici agreed with him on that. Enver Bektar from Visoko supported the report, but asked why no member of the Croatian Democratic Community was present at the session. Dr. Ekrem Ajanovic from Tesanj said that it was one minute to 12, and he added that as a man and citizen of this state he thought that all useful proposals that could lead to peace should be appended to the peace plan. Five or six other deputies presented interesting views and assessments. They believe that peace can be achieved only through continued fighting. No one can help us as we can help ourselves, they said, stressing the number of victims so far but also the incredible morale of our defenders. There was also a proposal that the relationship with the Croatian Defense Council should be defined, since, as deputy Abdulah Tobdzic said, it was playing some strange game and he was convinced that they would not give up their Herceg-Bosnia easily.

The session is still in progress, and we will keep you informed about the decisions and progress in the evening's newscast. This has been Smajl Terzic for Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Legislators Approve Report on New York Talks

AU1503195693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Bosnia-Hercegovina Parliament deputies meeting in Zenica have given their support to the state delegation's report on the New York talks. All the decisions from the session held in Sarajevo have been adopted, and the working presidency has been given the task to prepare for tomorrow the final proposals that will be presented to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and Government—that is, to the state delegation at the New York talks.

Minister Views Airdrops, Peace Prospects

AU1503135393 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 7 Mar 93 p 3

[Interview with Dusan Kovacevic, defense minister of the Serbian Republic, by Stevan Risovic; place and date not given: "Intervention Would Set Europe on Fire"]

[Text] The American humanitarian airdrop mission has elicited too much media pomp, particularly in the United States. The Serbs in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina particularly distrusted it, because there was a sound concern that Hercules could deliver heavy weapons to Croats and Muslims, apart from the food and medical supplies. We discussed the operation, New York negotiations, and possible military intervention with Major-General Dusan Kovacevic, defense minister of the Serbian Republic.

Imaginary Paramilitary Forces

[Kovacevic] Many people hoped there would be an incident in the airdrop operation, and it would be caused by Serbs, either the Army of the Serbian Republic, or the Yugoslav Army. However, the FRY officially supported President Clinton's action, stressing that the FRY has always supported all the humanitarian operations, and has also actively taken part in all the peace initiatives to find a peaceful solution for the crisis in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina. Those who hoped for an incident were left empty-handed, also because the General Staff of the Army of Serbian Republic had resolutely asserted that any relief convoy, no matter whom the goods were intended for, could pass Serbian territory without hindrance, and that no American plane would be fired at. Moreover, the Americans were advised to stick to Serbian air-space, because it is much safer than the air-space held by Croats and Muslims. Muslim have often misused U.N. humanitarian missions simply to provoke a military intervention. It is still possible for an incident to come about, for an American plane to be shot down by Muslims and Croats, and for Serbs to be accused, which would result in the United States intervening in the Bosnian conflict. Nevertheless, I think that the airdrop operation will be of short duration.

[Risovic] The satanization of the Serbian people has acquired inconceivable proportions. These days "the paramilitary Serbian forces" in eastern Bosnia are the main topic.

[Kovacevic] Which paramilitary forces? It is a nonsense! There are only regular units of the Army of the Serbian Republic stationed in eastern Bosnia. There are neither Serbian paramilitary units, nor foreign squads, nor Yugoslav Army units. Such brazen anti-Serb propaganda will do anything, deliver the most absurd lies to the international public opinion to make the United States or some other West country reach out for weapons and intervene in the Bosnian conflict. Such an intervention, if it happened, would not have a local character—Montenegro and Serbia would be also targets. Thereafter, it would be difficult to confine the Balkan fire to the former Yugoslavia.

The Serbian delegation in New York has been under inconceivable pressure. Under such conditions it is quite impossible to talk, let alone carry out negotiations on an equal basis. The Serbian delegation has submitted revised maps, according to which 70 percent of the questions regarding the maps themselves are indisputable, while the remaining 30 percent could be solved in some better, future times. Actually, we have proposed something similar to what was implemented in Krajina, which is to say, there should also be so-called pink zones in Bosnia-Hercegovina that would be under UNPROFOR control.

[Risovic] It looks as though the United Nations has succumbed to the influence of the United States.

[Kovacevic] It would be utterly irrational to claim that the United Nations, that is, the Security Council, had succumbed to U.S. influence. Why? Because every single one of the five permanent member states of the Security Council has the right to veto. That is to say, if the United States wants to push something through, Russia, China, Great Britain, and France should also give their blessing. These countries, at least for the time being, have to behave as they do. I doubt, however, that they would turn their backs on Serbia, or rather the Serbian people, at a decisive moment.

[Risovic] The latest UN resolution indirectly charges Serbia with stirring up the clashes, and alleged ethnic cleansing in eastern Bosnia.

[Kovacevic] Well, according to the screenplay written somewhere in the West, the job is still not completed. Those authors will not be appeased until they manage to set Serbia on fire. Their goal is to crush the Serbian people in the former Yugoslavia. Unfortunately, a great part of such plans has begun to be implemented through the Security Council and the other UN institutions.

Alija Is Just Like Franjo

[Risovic] Alija Izetbegovic has signed the military part of the Vance-Owen peace plan. Is fighting going to cease?

[Kovacevic] One has to go back just a year, in fact to the war in Croatia. Did Franjo Tudjman not also sign everything that was put before him? All the peace petitions, demands for the cessation of war, orders for cease-fires? He signed them all, and yet went on with generating clashes. Even after the 15th cease-fire was signed in Sarajevo, Tudjman ordered the same day that regular units of the Croatian Army, numbering about 30,000 men, move over to Herceg-Bosnia, to attack the Serbian villages in eastern Hercegovina. I tell you this because I have even less trust in Izetbegovic's signatures, than I had in Tudjman's. Perhaps he signed the document, but is it of any significance when Muslim units still ruthlessly conduct raids on every front, particularly in the basin of the River Bosnia, around Bratunac?

[Risovic] Is it possible, though, to stop the war in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Kovacevic] If there had been no designs aimed at destroying the FRY, or Serbia, I would have believed in an eventual peace. However, as long as the international community is in the anti-Serb frame of mind peace can hardly be achieved, because it is only the Serbs who genuinely want and aspire to peace, while the Muslims do not want it.

[Box, page 3]

"We Shall Fight To the End"

[Kovacevic] In the case of a foreign military intervention, the only thing that remains for us is to resist the aggression with all possible means. It is not the name of aggressor that counts, because it is all the same to us whether it is this name or that name. One cannot hit from the air all the objectives on earth, nor can one shoot all the Serbs. The Americans burned their fingers in Vietnam, and would burn them even more if they were the aggressor toward the Serbian people.

[Box, page 3]

"Nambiar Interceded for Peace"

[Kovacevic] As for the Indian General Satish Nambiar, with whom I had the opportunity to talk, I can only say that he is a man of peace, that he made many efforts for the crises to be peacefully solved. I think he should have stayed until the end of the UN mission in the former Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, I believe that the Swedish general will follow the same course.

General Staff Denies Rift With Presidency

AU1503131793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Regarding frequent speculations about the alleged disunity and misunderstandings between the Presidency and the General Staff of the Supreme Command, the General Staff believes them to be well-known fabrications aimed at weakening our country's defense capacity and a flimsy attempt to complicate the position of our state delegation in New York.

Without any desire to debate something that was produced by the propaganda machinery of the occupier, the General Staff of the Supreme Command informs the domestic and international public that a joint meeting of military commanders with Mr. Halilovic, commander of the General staff of Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces, was held on the eve of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly's session. The meeting was also attended by the corps and headquarters commanders.

Undivided support and loyalty to the Presidency, and especially to President Izetbegovic and our delegation in New York, was voiced on that occasion. Regarding army leadership, their full loyalty and hierarchical obedience toward the Supreme Command are absolutely unquestionable. All speculations about the alleged rivalry and disunity between the General Staff of the Supreme Command and the Presidency must thus be treated as an open, enemy attempt to cause confusion among our fighters and citizens, it is stated in a statement by the General Staff of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Armed Forces.

Buha Discusses New York Talks

LD1503164393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], said today in an interview on Radio Yugoslavia that a recent statement by Lord Owen had "left the door ajar to possible corrections of provincial borders."

"If the statement is an indication of what was said it will mean that the provincial borders can be changed and that it would take three to six months to accomplish the changes. This will be a new development that could bring the New York negotiations out of the current impasse," Buha said.

If, however, the next round of talks in New York is to turn into an occasion to pressure and persuade the Serb side, any resumption of the negotiations would be pointless, the Serb Republic minister said.

The Muslim side's stand can also be seen as a new development since it questions even what has already been endorsed. First, the Muslim side is dissatisfied with the relationship between central and provincial authorities; as they see it the central authorities are given too

few powers. The next dissatisifaction is with the military document. After that they say they do not like the provincial borders or rather the entire concept of the future system in the state community of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Talking about French General Philippe Morillon, the foreign minister of the Serb Republic stresses that he has probably become a Muslim hostage. It is difficult to say what lies behind this situation, Buha stresses—whether he hoped that the Muslims would be fair to him as long as he is fair toward them, or whether there is something else there.

"I believe the entire action by Gen. Morillon is problematic. It is not a general's job to secure passage for humanitarian convoys," Buha says. He stressed that Morillon had been warned that it was a great risk to go to Srebrenica. "He went nevertheless hoping that with his authority he would do more than is normally possible in such a situation. By all appearances, that has turned against him. I hope the other side will come to their senses and that Gen. Morillon will return alive and well and continue to perform his duties," Buha said in an interview for Radio Yugoslavia.

Commentary Sees Tension Between Croats, Muslims

AU1303190293 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Mar 93 p 9

[Commentary by Mario Marusic: "Who Will Cool the Hotheads"]

[Text] In spite of optimistic news coming from the peace negotiations in New York the past few days, that in the name of the Muslim people Alija Izetbegovic would (after all) give his consent to the proposed territorial division of Bosnia-Hercegovina into provinces, it is still clear, at least judging by the news from central Bosnia, that at the top of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action], the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and some other bodies of Bosnia-Hercegovina's Muslims, there is still a large number opposed to the Vance-Owen plan, who stubbornly insist on a unitary state in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In addition to the development of events in the field, where there are constant provocations and attacks by the extremist Muslim forces on HVO's [Croatian Defense Council] forces, and where the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina still has not made possible the return of banished Croats, nor has it unblocked the roads toward Busovaca, there are a number of reporters from Radio Sarajevo and other Muslim media who are especially loud and who, with their biased reporting and accusations on account of the Croats, are trying to discredit the efforts of the joint committees of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the HVO. With this attitude, they are only adding fuel to the fire and are supporting the conflicts between allies in the joint struggle against the Chetnik aggressor. At times they have gone so far as to denigrate the Croatian people and call them "epithets" that even the Serbs were not called (although they deserved it) for their appalling crimes on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

At a time of great peace efforts and searches for a solution to stop the bloody conflicts, Sarajevo Radio broadcast a commentary titled "Bosnia Between Two Fascisms," in which Serbia and Croatia, or to quote them, "Milosevic's and Tudjman's regimes" are described as being "the last two fascist dictatorships in Europe and the world." In keeping with such thoughts, "Serbia and Croatia, Karadzic and Boban, are one and the same thing." This is how the so-called state radio of Bosnia-Hercegovina sees things, and it adds that "the hypocritical Croatian friends do the same things as the Serbs, only in a more calculated and treacherous manner."

Maybe the best way to react to this dirty propaganda over radio waves is to remain calm and put it down to yet another strategy employed by those who suffer from Yugo-nostalgia, members of KOS [Counterintelligence Service] and other similar people who are using all possible means to provoke new conflicts and attacks of Muslim extremists on the HVO and the Croatian people. The coming week will show whether Alija Izetbegovic can cool the hotheads in the Muslim ranks and thus prevent new incidents and an escalation of the conflicts. The ominous comments aimed at the Croatian people from the very top of the Muslim leadership pose a serious threat to the normalization of the situation and should therefore quiet down as soon as possible.

Relations Between Croatians, Muslims Deteriorate

LD1203192693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Report by Slavko Rako from Mostar]

[Text] In today's Chetnik attacks on Mostar, which began at 0835 this morning, 22 shells fell on the city. The regional command of Southeast Hercegovina has no information on the number of casualties, but unofficial reports say that a number of people were injured in today's Chetnik artillery attacks. The command has no precise information about the activity of the Chetnik artillery except for a report that about 13 shells were fired on the Rotimlja area.

Attacks on Mostar are in their third day, and civilians and civilian targets are being shelled. One person was killed and nine injured yesterday. Two members of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] were accidentally wounded, while one HVO member and one member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army were wounded in the shelling.

At today's news conference of the HVO Department of Defense, spokesman Veso Vegar reported on the deterioration of relations between Croatians and Muslims in the Zepce, Maglaj, and Zavidovici region. Muslim forces

from the Zenica municipality have imposed a 30 percent duty on all means of transport intended for use by Croatians in this area.

Bosnian Serb Army Protests Airlift Violations

LD1303180793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Mar (TANJUG)—Within the humanitarian airlift operation for eastern Bosnia on the night of 11-12 March, between 2330 and 0140, three groups of three airplanes each were spotted, although regular airlift application has been made for only six planes, the main headquarters of the Serb Republic's army states.

The text of the statement reads :

"When the first group of planes departed, 80km from Ancona, two aircraft left the group, turning toward Ancona, disappearing 20km away from this city. After 15-20 seconds another plane appeared above Ancona, joining the third plane from the group, and continuing the flight toward the northern Adriatic. In Ancona the landing of two planes has been confirmed.

As far as the departure of the second group is concerned, 80km from Ancona, two planes turned toward this city and the third plane continued its flight toward the northern Adriatic. However, some 30-40km from Ancona, the two planes turned north and joined the third plane in the group. Simultaneously, two new planes were spotted above Ancona flying northwest along the coast. These activities lead to the conclusion that the airlift procedure is not being respected, "thereby confirming how easy it is to misuse this airlift operation," the statement concludes.

Yugoslav Army Denies Deployment in Eastern Bosnia

LD1503173693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 15 March (TANJUG)—Not a single member or unit of the Yugoslav Army has been deployed outside the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the information service of the Yugoslav Army General Staff stated today.

The entire statement reads as follows:
"Further to some reports by the world's media and some newspapers that units of the Yugoslav Army, supported by air force planes, are fighting against the Muslim army in eastern Bosnia, the information service of the Yugoslav Army General Staff is authorized to announce that not a single member or unit of the Yugoslav Army has been deployed outside the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"These accusations represent an attempt—by way of fabricating reports—to obscure the truth and one's own aggressiveness. They also attribute to the Yugoslav Army the effort to spread the war to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav Army's commands and units are only taking the necessary measures to protect the borders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its citizens from the Muslim army's aggression. The 12 March artillery attack on Banja Koviljaca, which left casualties and material destruction in its wake, testifies best to who the aggressor is. On that occasion an elderly woman, Vera Vukasinovic, was killed and another citizen suffered minor injuries."

Hungary Warned Against Interference

LD1403184193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1632 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Mar (TANJUG)—The General Staff Serbian Republic Army (of Bosnia-Hercegovina) today warned the Hungarian authorities and the Hungarian Army against interfering in the conflicts in the area of former Yugoslavia, the SRNA agency reports, citing a statement by the Serbian Republic Army General Staff.

The agency says that the Army General Staff lodged a protest note today with the General Staff of the Hungarian Army, because last night, 13 and 14 March, "a large number of Croatian volunteers and mobilized stormtroopers arrived in the Maria Theresa Garrison in Pecs from the area of Western Europe to receive military training."

"The volunteers and conscripts were taken by 170 buses to a camp where they will receive intensive training, weapons, and equipment," SRNA reports, adding that they will then be "sent to the war-stricken areas of former Yugoslavia."

SRNA says that the statement by the Serbian Army General Staff notes that "it has been known for some time that Hungary has been illegally supplying followers of Franjo Tudjman and Alija Izetbegovic with weapons, ammunition, and military equipment," and that "this cooperation continues as soldiers are being trained and Hungarian territory used to transfer units to combat zones.

"In defiance of the UN Security Council resolutions, Hungary has finally sided openly with one of the parties to the conflict and got involved in the war in the area of the former Yugoslavia by taking such steps", SRNA reports, quoting the Army General Staff statement.

Russians Refute Mladic Statements on Airdrop

AU1503175693 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13-14 Mar 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Russian Packages Intended for All"]

[Text] Russia will not deliver the "parachute aid" only to the Bosnian Serbs but to the civilian population of all three warring ethnic communities in Bosnia-Hercegovina under strict instructions from the UNHCR.

This was reported yesterday from Moscow by Djuro Bilbija, our permanent correspondent there.

This refutes the claim by the Serbian-Yugoslav side, as announced by General Ratko Mladic, that Russian aid will be directed at "besieged Serbian communities on territories under Muslim control," and because of that "corridors for Russian aircraft will be opened throughout the Serbian territories."

According to the statement by the State Commission of the Russian Federation for Extraordinary Situations, which our correspondent cites, some 30 tonnes of humanitarian aid will be dropped in 600 kilogram containers from two IL-76 military transport aircraft over "six quadrants" of the Bosnia-Hercegovina territory to be determined by the UNHCR experts; the Russian pilots will be informed directly before each individual takeoff.

It is also not true, it is said in Moscow, that the Russian planes will take off from their territory. Rather, like all the others carrying humanitarian aid for Bosnia-Hercegovina, they will take off from the U.S. military base Reine-Meine, near Frankfurt. Our correspondent says it has already been agreed that the Russian aircraft are to carry the 45 tonnes of aid allocated by the United Nations. As for the "second phase" of Russian involvement, consultations are currently under way between Moscow and the United Nations.

It is still uncertain when the Russian planes will take off for Frankfurt (the decision is expected today or tomorrow), and it is even less certain when they could leave Frankfurt for Bosnia. One thing is sure, though: The Russian planes will fly independently, claims our Moscow correspondent Djuro Bilbija.

REUTERS has carried similar information from Moscow. It says Russia has not given up its part in the "operation parachute" and that a decision on that can be expected "very soon." "Initially we planned to start the operation between 12 and 14 March, but we can expect the definite date any day now," says (?Sergei Goryev) from the Press Center of the Russian State Commission for Extraordinary Situations.

UNHCR Claims Food Convoys Being Held Up

AU1503193293 Paris AFP in English 1858 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Mali Zvornik, Yugoslavia, March 15 [AFP]—UNHCR officials said the deadlock over aid to Srebrenica was also holding up convoys trying to take food to the besieged Moslem town of Tuzla and to Sarajevo.

In Geneva, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Sadako Ogata, also expressed her strong support for Morillon.

"I want to express my appreciation for the courageous stand you have taken to protect and assist the population of the Srebrenica area and to draw international attention to their plight," she said in a message to the French general.

"The shelling and starvation of innocent civilians is intolerable and I hope that your presence will contribute to alleviating their untold suffering," she said.

Agreement Reached on Aid

LD1603000393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2309 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Mar (TANJUG)—Humanitarian aid for Srebrenica will be delivered by land, and in return, the same vehicles will be used to evacuate seriously wounded persons. Serb civilians from Tuzla will have free passage from Tuzla to Zvornik, and Muslims from Srebrenica will have free passage from Srebrenica to Tuzla. This is stressed in a statement from the main headquarters of the Serb republic which was issued after a meeting during the afternoon between General Philippe Morillon, UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Gen. Manojlo Milovanovic, chief of the Serb republic army's main headquarters, in the village of Borici in Bratunac municipality. The statement continues:

General Morillon insisted that the talks should be held in the open on the demarcation line between the warring sides in front of the most remote house on the edge of the village of Borici. This probably was demanded by the Muslim side because they could control the place where the meeting was held from their watchtower in the village of Budak and from the Kula plateau.

At the same time, the 12 members of UNPROFOR and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees who were held hostage by the Muslims until Gen. Morillon returned to Srebrenica were left behind. The representatives of the main headquarters of the army of the Serb republic had agreed, despite being at risk, to meet in a clearing controlled by the Muslims so as to help Gen. Morillon and his aides in captivity.

At the meeting, Gen. Morillon demanded that the delivery of humanitarian aid to Srebrenica be made possible, as well as the evacuation of the wounded and civilians from Srebrenica to Tuzla. The representatives of the main headquarters of the army of the Serb republic agreed that humanitarian aid be delivered to Srebrenica by land and that the critically wounded be evacuated by the same vehicles on their return, as they bore in mind the personal safety of Gen. Morillon and his aides. At Gen. Morillon's suggestion, it was agreed that the civilians of Tuzla be allowed to move to Zvornik and that the Muslim population of Srebrenica be able to move to Tuzla.

At these talks it was made clear that all other issues would be discussed at a meeting of the mixed military working groups for ex-Bosnia-Hercegovina, chaired by

Gen. Morillon, scheduled to take place on Wednesday, 17 March 1993, at 1110 at Sarajevo airport, the statement says in conclusion.

Villagers Hold British Soldiers as Insurance

LD1203143793 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1331 GMT 12 Mar 93

[By Michael Harvey, PRESS ASSOCIATION]

[Text] Five British soldiers were being held by Bosnian villagers because they saw the peace-keeping troops as "their only hope of survival", the officer in charge said today.

Major Alan Abraham said he and his four men from the 9/12th Royal Lancers in two armoured vehicles were being prevented from leaving by a large crowd of women, children and pensioners. Thousands of Muslim civilians surrounded the vehicles in the east Bosnian village of Konjevic Polje yesterday when they arrived on a United Nations aid mission.

UN and Ministry of Defence officials stressed the soldiers did not consider themselves to be in any danger as negotiations continued to resolve the impasse.

Maj. Abraham told ITN Lunchtime News the vehicles were parked on the main road through the village, surrounded by a "fairly large number" of civilians sitting in the road. "They are reasonably happy. They do not want us to move because we offer them a chance of life. The people see us as their only hope of survival," he said. He said four villagers had been killed by shells which have been falling in the hills around the settlement.

The convoy went to Konjevic Polje to evacuate 75 wounded civilians, most of them men, but Bosnian Serbs said the convoy could bring out only women and children and banned the British military escort. The enclave has been under siege for more than 10 months and Muslim refugees from nearby fighting have poured into the area.

Angry villagers ringed the vehicles with burning bales of hay and told the soldiers the convoy should take all the wounded or none.

The Muslims later demanded a ceasefire, the stationing of UN monitors in the region and humanitarian aid as a condition for "freeing" the soldiers, it was reported.

Major Bob Prophet at the UN headquaters at Kiseljak, north-west of Sarajevo, said some conditions were being met but the exact demands by the Bosnian Serbs were not clear-cut. "UN monitors have set out for the area and we are organising humanitarian aid as this convoy shows. Of course, we will offer our assistance to broker a ceasefire with local commanders," he said. He said the impasse was "not a matter of official negotiations. The right person on the ground has to make the right moves. Maj. Abraham is staying where he is as it is more trouble getting out and then trying to get back in. He is negotiating and will leave as soon as he is ready with as many civilian casualties as possible."

Danish lorries to transport the wounded were still at a Bosnian Serb checkpoint some distance from the village, he added.

Talks to resolve the situation were also taking place at the Bosnian Serb headquarters at Pale, near Sarajevo. The UN commander in Bosnia, Major General Philippe Morillon, was in the area and was expected to add his weight to the negotiations.

Major Martin Waters, at British headquarters at Vitez, central Bosnia, said he was in frequent contact with Maj. Abraham who was confident he was in control of the situation.

An MoD spokesman said the soldiers were understood to be a lieutenant, a sergeant-major and two drivers. "This type of situation has happened before and it is hoped it will be resolved shortly," he said.

Bosnian Croats in Livno Block Relief Aid

LD1303140693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1336 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Grahovo, March 13 (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Croat authorities in the central Bosnian town of Livno have not allowed passage of trucks loaded with relief supplies for 246 Serbs in the nearby village of Rascani, TANJUG's reporter in Grahovo said on Saturday.

The trucks were returned to Celebic, a settlement on the border between the Bosnian Croat state community Herceg-Bosnia and the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Most of the Serbs, who had lived in the areas now included in Herceg-Bosnia, have fled the areas before Croat massacres.

Livno, a town in which Serbs were tortured during the era of the World-War-Two puppet independent state of Croatia, is also today one of the places where local Serbs are experiencing the worst suffering.

Serbs in Rascani receive no humanitarian aid and are facing starvation. Food and other relief supplies for them have been gathered by the Red Cross of Banja Luka, a town in the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Halilovic Orders Troops To Halt Offensive

AU1503204293 Paris AFP in English 2032 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Sarajevo, March 15 (AFP)—Bosnian forces leader Sefer Halilovic Monday evening ordered his troops to call off offensive actions in the east of the republic in line with a cease-fire accord brokered by U.N. General Philippe Morillon.

An order issued by Halilovic "at the request of Morillon" called for a suspension of offensive action following an agreement reached by the French general and Bosnian Serbs forces "to protect the civilian population and create the conditions for the evacuation of those ill and wounded" from the besieged Moslem town of Srebrenica.

Morillon, commander of U.N. forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina, had earlier said he had won agreement from Bosnian Serbs for a conditional ceasefire around Srebrenica, in eastern Bosnia.

"I have obtained an accord for the cessation of hostilities, for a ceasefire providing the (Moslem) Bosnian presidency orders an end to the counter-offensive it has launched," he told French TF1 television by radio from the eastern Bosnia enclave.

Morillon, who has been holed up in Srebrenica since Thursday, spent Monday afternoon negotiating with the head of the Bosnian Serb forces, General Ratko Mladic, in Obrenovac halfway between Srebrenica and the Bosnian-Serb controlled city of Bratunac.

The general said he now hoped that an aid convoy held up for several days would arrive in Srebrenica on Tuesday morning, bringing in food and evacuating wounded persons.

The Bosnian Serbs had said they would not allow United Nations convoys through until Morillon had left the besieged city.

"They (the Serbs) thought I was a prisoner or a hostage; by going to this meeting with them I proved this was not so," Morillon said.

"The Serbs say that I'm a human shield; yes, I am a shield, I told them that I had now given my word.... I will remain in Srebrenica not only until the arrival of the first convoy but as long as I consider that the safety of the inhabitants is at risk," the general said.

Garrison Commander on Srebrenica Situation

93P50100A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 10 Mar 93 p 10

[Report by As'ad Taha]

[Text] Zaghreb—Ramiz Becirovic, the military field commander of the city of Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia besieged by the Serbs, denied to AL-HAYAH that it might fall. He said: "The determination of the people here to stay and hang onto their land is sufficient guarantee to prevent the aggression from achieving its goals and occupying our land in eastern Bosnia."

He commented on Bosnian Army Commander Sefer Halilovic's decision to send military support to Srebrenica from the city of Tuzla, the Muslim stronghold in the east, saying that this "should have been done a long time ago. It is an important decision, and we believe that it will be enough to change the situation in our favor."

AL-HAYAH asked him, during its radio contact with him, about the rumors spread by Serbian forces that the village intended to surrender soon. He said: "I have no knowledge of this and I do not believe that this is true." He added: "They cannot do that after 10 months of defending it."

He said that 4,000 citizens had arrived in the region from Cerska, which the Serbs destroyed a few day ago. He added that this "increases the number of those starving and homeless in Srebrenica." He said: "We are suffering from a lack of everything: flour, clothes, shoes and tents." He spoke bitterly about the recent statements by General Philippe Morillon, commander of the UN forces in Bosnia, who said that during his visit to the areas in the east he had not found indications that atrocities had been committed there against the rights of the Muslims. He said: "Do you expect to see mutilated and burned corpses, with the Serbs having bothered to hide them? Our villages and our cities are besieged; four mosques and our schools are destroyed; civilians have been made homeless or have been killed. How can Morillon not notice that."

On the aid from the international community, and especially the U.S. aid, he said: "Some of the aid has reached us by air, but it is only a drop in the ocean. The last land convoy arrived three months ago, carrying food that lasted for three days." He added: "The United States has done what it should have done a long time ago." He implored the Security Council and the international community to deploy international troops on the border between Serbia and Bosnia to interrupt the arrival of more Serbian materiel on the battlefield.

Radio Hams Report Serbs Overrun Konjevic Polje

AU1603163493 Paris AFP in English 1629 GMT 16 Mar 93

[Text] Mali Zvornik, Yugoslavia, March 16 (AFP)—Negotiations continued Tuesday [16 March] over U.N. troop commander Philippe Morillon's demand for a relief convoy to help 80,000 beleaguered Moslems in Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The 23-truck convoy, which was earlier reported to have set out from this Serbian border town where it had been blocked by Serb militia, was still waiting here at 4:40 p.m. (1540 GMT).

Even if it set out before nightfall, which appeared unlikely, the convoy would not be able to reach the stricken town on Tuesday as it would be searched by Serbs at Bratunac, 20 kilometres (12 miles) east of Srebrenica.

General Morillon, the commander of the U.N. Protection Force in Bosnia-Hercegovina who has been in Srebrenica since Thursday, has pledged to remain in the

Moslem enclave until a convoy with relief aid arrives to evacuate those wounded by a Serb onslaught.

Initially, Bosnian Serbs said they would allow the convoy through only if it went without the escort. Then, according to U.N. military observer chief Colonel Wouter Van Deijk, the Serbs said two armoured cars could accompany the convoy, but the United Nations insisted that all escort vehicles go with the relief trucks.

Van Deijk said Morillon would meet later Tuesday with General Ratko Mladic, commander of the Bosnian Serb forces.

Morillon meanwhile reported Tuesday that Serb forces had overrun the Moslem enclave of Konjevic Polje, according to amateur radio operators monitored in Zagreb. He said residents had fled to neighbouring Srebrenica, whose population is already swollen by refugees.

Morillon said so many people were packed together in the streets that "if one single shell were to fall it could kill 100 people on the spot."

The trucks carrying food and medicine are desperately needed, as are building materials to repair shell-damaged buildings and warm clothes to protect the refugees against temperatures of minus 15 centigrade.

The convoy and four others waiting in the Bosnian border town of Zvornik to leave for Gorazde, Tuzla and Sarajevo were given the go-ahead with "all guarantees" for their safety by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic.

In the past, however, assurances and guarantees from headquarters have not been sufficient.

General Manojlo Milovanovic, the chief of staff of the Serb forces in Bosnia, said earlier Tuesday that he would allow the convoy through "to ensure the personal safety" of Morillon.

Milovanovic, who negotiated the passage of the convoy with Morillon on Monday, said in a statement that the convoy would be allowed to evacuate the wounded from Srebrenica.

It had been reported from Sarajevo that Morillon had negotiated Monday with Mladic.

Milovanovic said he had also agreed to the evacuation of civilians to the Bosnian government-held town of Tuzla, about 30 kilometers (20 miles) northwest of Srebrenica, in order to ensure Morillon's safety.

He said he was convinced Morillon was being held hostage by the town's residents despite assurances to the contrary by the French general.

The situation in the region has deteriorated in recent weeks with several Moslem enclaves in eastern Bosnia besieged by Serb forces.

The United States has been parachuting food and medicines over the region to alleviate shortages. On Tuesday U.S. Air Force planes dropped 20 tonnes of food and nearly half a tonne of medicines over Srebrenica.

Correction to Muslims Reportedly Hold UN Troops

AU1103221693

First paragraph, third sentence, make read: ...until this evening. This was reported by [name indistinct], assistant for humanitarian affairs for eastern Bosnia, in the headquarters... (rewording for clarity)

Defense Minister Receives U.S. Military Delegation

LD1403213293 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Text] Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak today received a top-level U.S. military delegation. Tihomir Ladisic reports.

[Ladisic] At a time when U.S. President Bill Clinton and his new administration are deciding to be as comprehensively and closely as possible acquainted with the situation in the former Yugoslavia, a U.S. delegation's visit to the Croatian defense minister is obviously a political as well as a military event of great importance.

The high-ranking military officers of the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force were welcomed by Defense Minister Gojko Susak and his aides. The importance and effect of this meeting is borne out by the high-level line up of the U.S. military delegation.

[Begin recording] [General Robert Bazley, in English with Croatian subtitles] These are newly selected—I call them young men; they think they are old—admirals and generals in the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force. They are in a very demanding, intensive six-week program to have a better understanding of joint operations, working with each other and working with our friends and allies. As part of that program we have the great honor and pleasure of coming here and seeing this international thing that has happened to the Croatian people. This is a marvelous opportunity to expand their horizons and give them a better feel, perhaps help them in their decisionmaking. This is also a test they are assigned to do in the future.

[Susak] Their mission is to get acquainted with the situation on the ground. This refers to the continuation of the UN Protection Force's [UNPROFOR] mandate and the situation in general as it is at the moment. Since the United States, both in New York and at the UN, via Bartholomew, has become directly involved in the talks on both Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, we believe that this mission is very important both for continuing UNPROFOR's mandate as well as for Croatia's relations with the United States. As General Bazley said, this will be a decision made by politicians, President Tudjman and President Clinton. In any case, a meeting at this level will surely advance and improve relations. [end recording]

[Ladisic] The U.S. military delegation aims to gain a thorough insight into the issues of importance for the United States, as it is focused on advancing the role of the U.S. military in the peace talks in the area of the former Yugoslavia. The delegation has a mandate from the U.S. Congress and Defense Ministry. Prior to its visit to Croatia it visited Turkey. Today, following its talks with the Croatian delegation and the UNPROFOR command, the delegation is leaving for Hungary. The combat operations on the ground and the possibility of the peace talks collapsing, particularly on Bosnia-Hercegovina, leave room for a range of political options as well as military plans. The question of military cooperation between Croatia and the world's most powerful military force is an open one.

Delegation From Iran Pays Visit 12 Mar

Meets Assembly President

LD1203160293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] Stjepan Mesic, president of the Croatian Assembly, received a delegation from the Islamic Republic of Iran headed by Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Va'ezi. The guests from Iran informed Mesic about the intention of 'Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri, speaker of the Iranian parliament, accompanied by the foreign minister, to visit Croatia next month to further improve relations and cooperation between Iran and Croatia.

During the meeting, they discussed the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Iranian delegation asked President Mesic to lend them support in sending humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Iranian Deputy Meets Speaker

LD1303073393 Tehran IRNA in English 0612 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Zagreb, March 13, IRNA—Croats must realize that in the case of a Muslim capitulation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Greater Serbia would endanger Croatia, Croatian Parliamentary Speaker Stipe Mesic told Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mahmud Va'ezi here Friday [12 March]. "Unfortunately," Mesic added, "some Croats still have not reached that conclusion."

Muslims and Croats, nominal allies in the Bosnian civil war, have in recent months been locked in combat over the ethnically-mixed Central Province which Croats claim as their own.

Mesic voiced disapproval of what he called the double dealing of Western powers: "France, Great Britain and the United States tell us to help Bosnia-Hercegovina as much as we can, and then request checking of humanitarian packages for weapons," he said.

Mesic handed over his personal letters of thanks to Iranian President Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani and Majlis Speaker 'Ali Akbar Nateq-Nuri, whom he met during his three-day visit to Tehran last month.

Va'ezi announced that Croatia and Iran had now abolished visa requirements between the two countries at Foreign Ministry level.

Referring to his many contacts during his visit here, he expressed support for better cooperation between Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina and tighter cooperation with Zagreb in economic and military fields. Va'ezi also met Friday morning with Croatian defense minister, Gojko Susak.

Nateq-Nuri, who will be visiting Europe in early April, is also to visit Croatia, Va'ezi said.

Deputy Departs

LD1303191493 Tehran IRNA in English 1830 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] Zagreb, March 13, IRNA—The Iranian deputy foreign minister, Mahmud Va'ezi, left Zagreb this afternoon after having "constructive meetings" with high-ranking croatian political, economic and military officials.

Va'ezi had a half an hour telephone conversation with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic on Saturday in which he expressed Iran's grave concern over the situation in eastern Bosnia and the plight of innocents Muslim civilians, subject to Serbian aggression.

"It was a good conversation," Va'ezi said. "I informed President Izetbegovic about the position of Iran on the critical situation in Bosnia and the peace process, and had the opportunity to hear directly from him that how [as received] Iran may help"

During a 4-day visit, the Iranian official met Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, speaker of the parliament, Stipe Mesic, Trade Minister Branko Miksa, and Defence Minister Gojko Susak, as well as many Croatian high ranking businessmen.

The two sides agreed that a general agreement on cooperation between the two countries would be signed next month when Iranian parliament speaker, Hojjat ol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri would pay a visit to Croatia.

An agreement on trade and banking cooperation will be signed in the end of April when some Croatian ministers will visit Iran. An agreement on abolition of visa for service and diplomatic passports was signed during the visit.

In all its meetings, the Iranian side made it clear that Bosnia-Hercegovina was a priority for Iran. Va'ezi urged forming of a tripartite committee for economic cooperation between Iran, Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia.

Va'ezi expressed concern over the escalation of tension between Muslim and Zagreb backed Croatian forces in central Bosnia, where Croatian nationalist leaders have proclaimed their state-like community of Herceg-Bosnia.

This community has been the scene of several attempts by Croats to be ethnically cleansed from Muslims, a campaign which led to tens of dead and hundreds of wounded, especially among Muslim civilians.

"Our relations with Croatia is very sensitive to the relations between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia," one Iranian official said.

"We, Croats, have to realize that in case of Muslim capitulation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, a greater Serbia would endanger Croatia... for Croatia to be survived Muslims should win the war" Mesic said in the meeting with Va'ezi.

He added, however that "unfortunately some Croats still have not reached that conclusion".

Army Continuing Attacks Against Krajina Positions

LD1603115693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1111 GMT 16 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Knin, 16 Mar (TANJUG)—The Croatian Army is continuing its artillery attacks against civilian targets and positions of the Krajina defenders, stated the main headquarters of the Republic of Serb Krajina Army today.

Combat activities are continuing on almost all parts of the north-Dalmatian battlefield, from the wider area of Peruca Dam, Drnis region, to the Skradin hinterland.

The villages of Smiljacic, Biljane Donje and Biljane Gornje, in particular, are being targeted by fierce howitzer and multi-rocket-launcher fire on the Zadar-Benkovac sector of the front. [passage omitted]

Serbian Democratic Party Chairman on Krajina Leadership

AU1503200093 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6-7 Mar 93 p 5

[Interview with Milan Babic, chairman of the Serbian Democratic Party of Krajina and of the Serbian Municipality of Knin, by Srdjan Radulovic; place and date not given: "Slicing a Political Dream"]

[Text] Milan Babic, chairman of the Serbian Democratic Party of Krajina [SDS Krajina] and of the Serbian Municipality of Knin [SO Knin], one year after the Krajina steering wheel was taken away from him, has been revived as a respectable figure on the Krajina political scene. While standing aside in the current clash within the Krajina leadership, some people already see him as the moral winner who will possibly return to some of the major functions in the Serbian Republic of Krajina [RSK].

Nevertheless, Babic decided to end the silence with his interview with NEDELJNA BORBA.

[Radulovic] How do you see the political situation in the RSK, and what are the reasons for the split in the Krajina leadership?
[Babic] The circumstances in which and because of which the RSK was created, as the optimal way of

realization and protection of Krajina Serbs' rights to self-determination and the result of the aggressiveness of the new Croatian state, have influenced internal dilemmas regarding which defense methods should be preferred at a particular time. The second important factor for the relations in Krajina was, first, the arbitration of the EC, and second, the internationalization of the crisis and the UN role in finding the solution for the crisis. Finally, the third factor that influences relations in Krajina and its position is not only the tendency of Serbian people in the RSK to unite with Serbian people living elsewhere in the former Yugoslavia but also a great liability to the influence that Krajina receives from other Serbian regions.

All-Serbian Integration

The Croatian aggression against Krajina on 22 January showed all the flaws in the international protection but also all the weaknesses of the authorities in Krajina. It showed there have been discernible personal animosities within the RSK leadership, which makes an impact on the consistency in the administration. Furthermore, when one takes into account the arbitrariness, arrogance, and misuse of power, the only solution is to fully and adequately activate all the institutions of the system. I personally hope that all those difficulties that the RSK has been going through in the conflict with Croatia, the problems of the Serbian Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina], and the problems of Serbia being unjustly burdened with the sanctions, will make us even stronger and more united.

[Radulovic] The RSK government has recently announced that the RSK Assembly and the Serbian Republic will soon decide on their union. Nevertheless, you have assessed the acceptance of the Geneva principles on the settlement of the Bosnia crisis (the decision of the Assembly of the Serbian Republic on Pale) as the end of the political dream of union of the Serbian countries. Is the union that you have just mentioned realistic, or is it the continuation of the "political dream"?

[Babic] We have to start at the present moment, the first quarter of 1993, from the present political facts. These are the existence of the FRY, Serbian Republic, and the RSK. Each finds itself in a similar position with respect to the pressures of foreign centers of power, but also in different positions with respect to their settings. With regard to these facts, and to the importance of finding a permanent solution for the Serbian national question, one has to seek some practical solutions that will bring us to the mutual goal. We have to fight out the international recognition of the FRY but also the realization of the Serbian people's right to self-determination in other regions of the former Yugoslavia. The final product must be all-Serbian integration, available for others to join if they want to.

[Radulovic] Then, is the announcement of the RSK government realistic, and is not the implementation of the idea of "the all-Serbian integration" dependent first on the political will of the present regime in Serbia?

[Babic] My opinion is that the RSK Assembly is mindful of the situation that the Serbian people in the Serbian Republic are facing, and also that the leadership of Serbia certainly seeks the optimal solution both for Serbia and for the other regions where Serbian people live.

[Radulovic] These attitudes of yours are quite different from the early positions, when you often concentrated on getting to first base. It is not only a certain moderation but rather the impression that your attitudes and those of the Belgrade regime are the same. Who has approached whom in views?
[Babic] I think that it is all about the reality of the present.

[Radulovic] Nevertheless, there are certain indications confirming your entente with the Serbian authorities. Isn't it a sign that the present RSK leadership is losing the support of Slobodan Milosevic?
[Babic] The present leadership of the RSK is quite a motley company that is not based on a political consensus of all the political forces in Krajina. Therefore the reason for the present political situation in Krajina should be looked for in the lack of authority of the present administration, and in its diversion from democratic institutions in Krajina.

[Radulovic] Yet, the split happened precisely in the leadership; that is, between its "uniformed" and "civil" part.

Uniforms Against Civilians

[Babic] I think that such a conflict is rather a consequence of personal relationships among that narrow and closed circle of people.

[Radulovic] That conflict has drawn the attention to your role, in a way, particularly in view of Milan Martic's statements.
[Babic] Martic probably feels that all the important political factors in Krajina need to agree. His way of publicly expressing that reveals the traces of his own feelings and personal views on the methods of settling the problem, however.

[Radulovic] Nevertheless, you have been in contact with Martic and the staff of the Serbian Army, while certain speculations regarding the Martic-Spanovic [suspended defense minister] -Babic political axis have started to circulate. Are you thereby aligning yourself in a particular fashion?
[Babic] I have recently had contacts to simplify things with all the factions to end personal animosities and make everyone take part in assuming responsibilities and finding the way out of the crisis. It seems to me that, at least among the people who visit Knin more often, I have met with understanding and support.

[Radulovic] You were recently in Belgrade. It was expected for you to meet Milosevic and Martic even announced that you would apologize to (and reconcile with) Milosevic.
[Babic] I do not doubt that Martic's approach is well-intended; it is still colored, however, with his subjectivity. I personally try to maintain good relations with all who are willing to support us in our struggle for our right to self-determination. Besides, I feel Belgrade, and it has to be as such, to be the capital of all Serbs.

[Radulovic] Is the fight for power aiming at personal advantages, manifested through the tolerance of crime and war profiteers, as the representatives of Banija and Kordun put it, the background of the Krajina conflicts?
[Babic] Many people in the administration are quite incapable of carrying the burden of their roles. There are probably those, as well, who are misusing their positions for personal advantage, so it is possible that such problems are a significant aspect of the situation in Krajina.

[Radulovic] Which direction should be looked for and followed to accomplish a permanent solution of the present political crisis in Krajina? Would it be the direct interference of Belgrade, as it was in your case, or the announced meeting of the RSK Assembly, or, perhaps, the elections?
[Babic] The best solution for establishing national status, for the constitution of the RSK as a democratic state nurturing law, personal freedoms, and guaranteed personal property, for the affirmation of the RSK aiming at peace and integration, not only in the former Yugoslavia, is to conduct democratic, multi-party elections. Krajina missed conducting elections last year, having at least the appearance of peace as a necessary condition, but the elections are still necessary. In the meantime, one should bank on the existing institutions, first and foremost on the Assembly. Although it was indirectly constituted, it best expresses the political will and interests best.

[Radulovic] What if the announced Assembly session turns into washing the dirty linen in public and if no means for solving the crisis in Krajina are found?
[Babic] The Assembly must not turn into an institution that enhances conflicts, and it is the only one that can and must solve all the problems at this time. Besides, the agreement of all the relevant political factors in Krajina must be reached beforehand. The Assembly has to end all divisions and verify that agreement and begin the necessary preparations for conducting the elections.

[Following passage appears boxed within the body of the item and headlined "Reservations"]

[Radulovic] Your answers are void of the old vehemence. They are packaged more diplomatically. Does that mean that you hold some aces for the finale of the Krajina political "drama," or should the diplomatic answers be related to the rumors that the post of foreign minister in the (new) RSK government is already reserved for you?
[Babic] I do not know who you think would be the one to arrange such reservations.

Deputy Prime Minister on Talks With Knin Serbs

93BA0689A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 93 pp 16-17

[Interview with Ivan Milas, Croatian deputy prime minister, by Aleksa Crnjakovic; place and date not given: "The World Is Paying, but There Are No Results"]

[Text] *Jean-Jacques Beaussov, chief of the regional center of the EC observer mission in Split, obtained a list of "the economic desires of the Serbs" during a visit to Knin. If Croatia fulfills them, the Krajina leadership would supposedly be ready to negotiate with the legal authorities of the Republic of Croatia. Eric Skow, chief of the EC observer mission, presented that proposal the other day to Ivan Milas, Croatian deputy prime minister.*

[Crnjakovic] What are the Krajina people seeking now, when obviously they are already exhausted by hunger? Did you not see those demands as a kind of blackmail?

[Milas] The list of proposals is supposedly nonpolitical, but in actuality those proposals are exceedingly political. You know that we have always favored normalization of economic flows over the entire territory of the state of Croatia, and that would, of course, include Knin. We have always been ready to talk, without, clearly, any kind of pressures or blackmail. We favor reestablishment of the economic integrity of Croatia, and in that help is also needed from the peacekeeping forces. We have constantly been saying that the Serbs in those regions are inhabitants of the state of Croatia, with all the rights that other citizens have, but you yourself will acknowledge that economic life cannot be normalized if it is not even possible to go there. And intercourse, we know, is blocked. Normalization of transportation is one of the tasks under the Vance Plan which unfortunately has not been performed.

[Crnjakovic] Will you accept the proposal?

[Milas] We are willing to talk with anyone who has good intentions.

[Crnjakovic] Will the Serbs from the temporarily occupied territories sit down with you at the table in the near future?

[Milas] There is no doubt that they will sit down at our table, because their real masters from Belgrade will not be able to help them much longer—and they themselves will fall into still greater difficulties than those they have now. However, I repeat, even without those talks we expect the Vance Plan to be carried out—reestablishment of transportation, return of the displaced persons, the disarming of the Serbian paramilitary formations, and reestablishment of the border regime with other states.

[Crnjakovic] The plan has not been carried out, and the mandate of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] is expiring. Are we going to sign an extension of the mandate, and under what conditions?

[Milas] I think that we will, but we will be demanding real implementation of the Vance Plan, I repeat, not merely its declarative acceptance. The peacekeeping forces have played a very constructive role in preventing outright war, and we are truly grateful to them for that. Butrus-Ghali's report clearly shows that even Mr. Butrus-Ghali himself is not fully informed, perhaps because certain officials of the UNPROFOR wanted to put the blame for their failure on someone else. The people who were supposed to carry out the Vance Plan have not been able to do so. Only some of the reasons lie in the fact that there has not been enough money to carry out such an extensive mandate. The mandate needs to be broadened, but I must say that even now the peacekeeping forces have the right to the necessary defense. Let me explain in more detail. The peacekeeping forces cannot say in all cases that they do not have a mandate for the use of force in order to protect the population in the region where they have assumed responsibility. Simply because the peacekeeping forces have the right to necessary defense, and by international standards that right is defined as the use of force in order to remove an overt danger from oneself or someone else. No one presumably is going to say that the blame should be put on the people who are being thrown out of their houses before the eyes of the UNPROFOR, and in zones where that same UNPROFOR has assumed responsibility! And they are being thrown out solely because they are not Serbs. Even without a mandate, and according to human principles, not only under international law, a member of the peacekeeping forces ought to protect a man being beaten in front of his eyes. So, the world is paying for a mission which is not yielding results.

[Crnjakovic] What now?

[Milas] Those who have been responsible for carrying out the Vance Plan think that it can be carried out if they refer us to a conversation only with that side which is carrying out ethnic cleansing. They want to win us over to a discussion with the side that is pursuing its goals according to a program of genocide established in advance! There is almost no talk about this, or at least, it is not given great importance. Ethnic cleansing has been going on even after the UNPROFOR assumed responsibility. Not only have the Serbian paramilitary forces not been demilitarized, but a new mobilization and new armament are taking place. It is intolerable that Mr. Butrus-Ghali's report nowhere mentions ethnic cleansing which is being carried out before the eyes of the UNPROFOR, which means that peacekeeping forces have not sufficiently protected the population whose protection is their responsibility. And now they impose on us as a negotiating party the one who is carrying out ethnic cleansing! By all international standards, under international law, that side should not have and would not have legitimacy for negotiation anywhere in the world. Simply because it is carrying out genocide and because that genocide is woven into its program. For instance, even now it holds 260 people, Croats, for days as hostages in 80 square meters of area! If that had happened to the members of any other advanced democratic Western country, that country would have brought the entire world to its feet. It is not only extremist individuals who should be charged with driving people out; it should not be forgotten that the Serbian side in Croatia is only an extension of the one in Belgrade. This is a very precisely worked-out plan of ethnic cleansing. How is it being carried out? One group kills two Croats, the rest spread rumors, still others offer their services to move out the frightened majority, and then international organizations arrive to help those people.

[Crnjakovic] One of our requirements for extending the mandate is that our police, with the help of the peacekeeping forces, guard the internationally recognized Croatian border, and not some Serbian border, the one they want. Will that be accepted?

[Milas] Yes, it is intolerable for the demarcation line to be turned into a firm border, while the national border of the Republic of Croatia is completely unprotected. Before the eyes of the UNPROFOR, the Belgrade authorities are mobilizing and sending military units into the internationally recognized state of Croatia. Simultaneously, that same Belgrade is mobilizing Croatian citizens for fronts outside the Republic of Croatia through its extended polyps in Croatia in the zones of the UNPROFOR. Those forces are involved in the operations of war. It is a question, then, of troops of a foreign state. The Serbs in Krajina are being financed out of the budget of the so-called FRY.

[Crnjakovic] Will NATO forces under American leadership assume the role of more effective protection of the internationally recognized Croatian border with Serbia and B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina], which would seal off Serbia as an exporter of Chetnik forces?

[Milas] The basic prerequisite for peace is preventing Serbia from sending military units and delivering arms to the paramilitary Serbian forces in Croatia, and all of this is aimed at realizing the territorial claims of Serbian expansionism. But who is going to take over protection of borders is a matter for negotiation between international entities. We simply do not want to consent to the export of war from other states into Croatia.

[Crnjakovic] Some analysts say that the international community will take over protection of Croatian borders, but in return they are seeking from Croatia certain concessions, for example, that the Serbs in Croatia be given still greater rights than we have given them, rights equal to those that the Croats will get in B-H. Are such analyses well-founded?

[Milas] That cannot be compared at all, because the Croats in B-H are a constituent nationality of internationally recognized B-H, but the Serbs in Croatia are an ethnic minority to which we have given all rights under

international standards. I personally, and I am a lawyer, do not know of any country which from the purely legal standpoint has greater guaranteed rights for minorities than the Serbian minority in Croatia. But if the Serbs think that they need a still greater level of those rights than set down in international standards, we are willing to negotiate with Serbia on the basis of reciprocity, so that the Croats in Serbia get the same rights as the Serbs in Croatia.

[Crnjakovic] How do you explain Clinton's request that Kinkel "soften" Croatia when it comes to extending the UNPROFOR mandate?

[Milas] It is not a question of "softening" at all, but of acting as an intermediary.

[Crnjakovic] So what will Germany do for us if we consent to extend the mandate? Is it not still a question of the international community not liking the conditions we are setting?

[Milas] I would rather say that the United States would like to give a new importance to Germany, because the United States is strong enough on its own to put influence on Croatia. It is actually the only great power in the world at this moment.

[Crnjakovic] Is not Germany "responsible" for us, and Russia for Serbia?

[Milas] No, I think it is an attempt to get Russia to act more responsibly toward the Balkan question so as to neutralize those forces which are attempting to operate from outside. Russia's entry into the effort to resolve the Balkan question is important to a permanent peace. I think, then, that the purpose is to give importance to Russia and Germany in the process of codecisionmaking, so that there would not be any "escapade" from the outside that would undermine the peace process.

[Crnjakovic] Some say that they can already see a new "congress" coming. They recall in that connection the historical congresses, for example, the one in Versaille. Is that your thought?

[Milas] Everything in history was similar, everything goes in a circle, there is nothing which has not already been seen. In the past, the great powers shuffled the cards to suit their own interests, and they will do so today. In any case, I do not think that today the cards can be shuffled only by the United States and Russia, with no participation from the strong countries of West Europe. This time, there will be a unified approach of the world community in this part of the world so that there is no division. It is simply a question of some kind of consensus.

[Crnjakovic] Butrus-Ghali is insisting that Resolution 802 be carried out. Will Croatia do that?

[Milas] Resolution 802 means that Serbian paramilitary formations are to be disarmed and the Croatian Army is to withdraw at the same time. This, then, is a simultaneous process. But, I repeat, the Vance Plan must first be carried out. And the assertion is not true that the Serbs took weapons from the storage depots of the UNPROFOR. After all, they never even gave up the bulk of their weapons, so therefore they could not have taken them. The heavy weapons remain buried. Only after complete disarmament, or simultaneously with it, must we withdraw.

Report Cites 'Indications' of 'Government Fall'

AU1603115193 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 93 p 2

[A. Crnjakovic report: "Is the Government Falling?"]

[Text] Will the government fall soon? According to some indications, this is already quite certain. The technomanagerial team has not fulfilled expectations. Instead of being reduced, the problems have multiplied. There are obviously some more profound differences among the personnel, too.

Rumors have begun spreading. Two deputy prime ministers, Mladen Vedris and Ivan Milas, are leaving. There are also rumors that Prime Minister Sarinic will also change his job; he will become the director of Ina [national petrochemical company] and will be replaced by Nikica Valentic. There has not been much information regarding the ministerial replacements, but it is difficult to believe that they will not take place.

One interesting—and for the citizens of Zagreb, perhaps good—piece of news: Former Prime Minister Franjo Greguric could become Zagreb mayor.

Defense, National Security Council Holds Session

LD1203154493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Text] The fifth session of the Defense and National Security Council has been held under the chairmanship of Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia. The economic situation in the Republic of Croatia was discussed and the council was briefed about recent visits, talks, and results of meetings of the highest Croatian officials in Australia, Canada, the European Community, the Benelux countries, NATO, and the Western European Union. The council was also briefed about the talks that a Croatian delegation held in New York and Geneva about the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 802.

Article Views Ownership, Freedom of Press

AU1503102593 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 93 pp 24, 25

[Article by Marko Barisic: "Who Is in Charge of the Croatian Press?"]

[Text] Not only recently, but ever since the first multiparty elections, there has been discussion in the Croatian media about the quality and extent of freedom of expression. Some of these discussions have lead to accusations, some even to court action. Not only newspapers and their journalists have tried to address this problem but also political parties, nonpolitical organizations, and various associations. Supporters of the thesis that there has been no freedom in the media have usually used the following slogan: "The state wants to have control over all the media."

In situations when government bodies either could not or did not want to intervene, the thesis about lack of freedom assumed another form: "They destroyed us because we were critical of the regime." A new aspect of the problem appeared after a new law on the transformation of socially-owned companies was published. Since all publishing companies were socially-owned, the process of their transformation, which was followed by privatization, turned into a real conflict (the problem of the electronic media, radio and television was solved by establishing one company—Hrvatska radio-televizija (HRTV)—which was proclaimed a public, state-owned company).

At first the conflict was confined to Croatia but over time the interested sides made it an international issue. This can be clearly seen from the latest report of the Council of Europe (the executive body of the European Parliament). The part of the report concerning the Croatian media, with the subhead "Mass Media Freedom," begins as follows:

"All the observers found that most of the mass media had played a key role in stirring up ethnic tensions and hatred during the crisis in the former Yugoslavia. The media have become a weapon of official propaganda while independent reporters and media have been discriminated against and repressed. The ruling party of President Tudjman (HDZ) has tried to establish control over the press and electronic media to silence the criticism of independent journalists." The Council of Europe report explained this attempt "of Tudjman's party...to establish control..." over all of the media by the process of privatization. The report states that this "control" of the press has already been achieved through the governmental Agency for Reconstruction and Development (now the Privatization Fund). The following example of the VJESNIK Publishing Company, which controls the printing and distribution of 80

of the Croatian press, is given: "The privatization of the VJESNIK Publishing Company and its 12 editions (probably the 12 VJESNIK subsidiaries are meant) is being carried out by a board consisting of four members appointed by the Agency for Reconstruction and Development." The report states that Milovan Sibl and Ivica Gazi (both HDZ members) are members of this board, a fact that has led the Council of Europe to conclude: "VJESNIK will accordingly remain under the control of the ruling party."

The second example is DANAS and NOVI DANAS: "One of the steps in the privatization of VJESNIK was the decision concerning the distribution of the eminent critical weekly DANAS. It seems obvious that this decision was made for political reasons because the distribution was manipulated in order to completely stop it. In the end all the journalists working for DANAS changed to NOVI DANAS, the new edition started by businessmen. VJESNIK, which has almost a monopoly over the printing and distribution of papers, refused to print and distribute NOVI DANAS, which lead to its collapse several months later—in September 1992. The name of the weekly and its premises were taken over by the leading members of GLASNIK, an HDZ paper. One of them is Milovan Sibl. Not a single DANAS journalist was reengaged. Up to now four issues of this new DANAS have been printed." Some of these allegations are true and some are false. One thing is surely true—the authors of the report of the Council of Europe are very well informed. The report goes on to say: "In the case of NOVI LIST, an important regional paper in Rijeka, the Agency for Reconstruction and Development tried to introduce a new management headed by a Zagreb Police official." By way of explanation, we would like to mention that there was a proposal to make Zdravko Zidovec, the deputy minister of the police, a member of the NOVI LIST editorial board. This proposal has not been adopted, and NOVI LIST from Rijeka is now a private company.

The last example mentioned in the report on Croatian publishing companies is SLOBODNA DALMACIJA. We quote from the report: "This daily from Split, which was once independent, was already privatized under the Federal Government of Ante Markovic, and 61

of the shares were held by the employees. The newspaper has a print run of 100,000 copies; it has its own printing house and distribution system, it makes a profit and is known for critical journalism.

First, the government officials tried to discredit SLOBODNA DALMACIJA with the public. After that the local HDZ leader (probably Mr. Bitanga) tried to become the manager, but he was not accepted by the journalists. The Agency for Reconstruction and Development got involved in October and decided to transform the paper once again (without any previous arrangement) since it found that the process of its transformation had not been completed. The editorial board was replaced by a new one, which was appointed by the Agency. The journalists soon started talking about restriction of editorial freedom. At the end of January 1993, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA was "privatized" once more—three state-owned banks now control 45 of the capital, 27 of the shares are still held by the employees. Theoretically, the employees could still buy the remaining shares, but

because of the dominant position of the state the independent union proposed to the journalists that they not buy the shares. The union wants to put SLOBODNA DALMACIJA under international control. On the same day it was "privatized," the editorial board appointed by the Agency for Reconstruction and Development marked the editorial policy as being "anti-Tudjman." [quotation marks as published]

The report goes on to discuss topics such as the situation regarding radio and television, the distribution of local radio stations, pressure on university professors, placing the universities under state control, centralization of power etc.. Since we in this column are interested only in the situation regarding newspapers, we shall only treat this topic. The Council of Europe's report ends by specifying its sources of information: "The sources of the above mentioned information are the personal contacts some of the missions of the European Citizens' Forum have recently had in Croatia, the report by the international ecumenical mission on the former Yugoslavia in November 1992, the mission sent by CLRAE [expansion unknown], International Organization of Journalists, articles from the Croatian press, the Rijeka (Fiume) Democratic Union, Croatian Social Democratic Union, and Citizens' Initiative for Public Opinion Freedom, Zagreb."

Among other things, this can be found in the Council of Europe report. We do not want to question these sources of information or stir up an "anti-European" atmosphere—the only thing we would like to do is to give our readers further information, reports and facts that would make it possible for foreign media experts to deepen their knowledge about the Croatian press instead of remaining at the surface, as has been, in our opinion, the case so far. In our articles we do not intend to give answers to questions, but to ask questions. As for example, who was interested in damaging the reputation of VJESNIK, how the VJESNIK-REVIJE company went bankrupt, how and with whose money GLOBUS was founded, how ARENA was transformed, what role the printing house "Hrvatska tiskara" and "Tisak" and their managers played, why DANAS was ruined, in which number of copies some of VJESNIK's editions were published, with what returns or debts, and why the then Prime Minister Franjo Greguric stopped the financing of some papers from the budget, which resulted in their going bankrupt.

We do not want any polemics with the Council of Europe, with Croatian commentators, or with the authors of certain series of articles, that were, admittedly, written more in the way of "writing partisan pamphlets" than based on research. Therefore, we would like to begin this series with a review of the Croatian media owners.

Croatian Media

State-owned: Hrvatska radio-televizija, HRVATSKI VOJNIK (owned by the Ministry of Defense), HALO 92 (owned by the Ministry of Internal Affairs).

The process of transformation not yet completed: Omladinska televizija-OTV [Youth Television], Slavonska televizija [Slavonija Television].

Privately owned: GLOBUS (owned by Nino Pavic), SLOBODNI TJEDNIK (owned by Marinko Bozic), SPORTSKE NOVOSTI (owned by Vice Medjugorac), DANAS (owned by Boris Peko), NOVI LIST (owned by Zdenko Mance), as well as EROS, MAJSTOR, KVIZ, KVIZORAMA, various editions of love and detective stories, such as KOLT, AFRODITA ....

Stock corporations: ARENA (publishing ARENA, MILA, ASTROMAGAZIN, AUTOKLUB, DJECJI KLUB), VECERNJI LIST, VJESNIK, GLAS SLAVONIJE (?), SLOBODNA DALMACIJA (?) [question marks as published].

Who Is the Owner?

The state is the owner of the main mass medium—Hrvatska radio- televizija (HTV). It has been classified as a public company by the Croatian Parliament. The law on radio-television, which should regulate the relations between the state and other possible local and regional televisions, has not yet been passed. The status of OTV [Youth Television] and STV [Slavonija Television] is still undefined. The owner of STV is GLAS SLAVONIJE, so that the status of this local television will be regulated with the status of its founder. As far as radio is concerned, local radio stations are owned by communes and they rent or sell their radio space to companies or private persons.

Private papers are considered those papers whose owner is a private person. Formally speaking, GLOBUS, SLOBODNI TJEDNIK and DANAS fulfill this criterion. I also put SPORTSKE NOVOSTI into this category because Mr. Medjugorac holds 51

of the shares, and the employees 48%. The owner of NOVI LIST (GLAS ISTRE, TJEDNI NOVI LIST, NOVA) is Zdenko Mance, together with the employees. Since he instigated the transformation and took managerial loans in his name, I naturally consider him the owner, not only a shareholder. It is clear that all privately owned companies are stock corporations.

As stock corporations I listed those companies that have carried out the transformation according to Markovic's concept (e.g. ARENA), or are now being transformed according to Barbic's concept. ARENA is completely (100%) owned by its employees. In the case of VECERNJI LIST 13% is owned by the employees, 30% by the Croatian Pension Fund, and 57% by the Privatization Fund. The Privatization Fund has recently sold some of its stocks at the Stock Exchange. This means that 87% of VECERNJI LIST is owned by the state. In Vjesnik, the employees hold 18%, the Croatian Pension Fund holds 30

, and the Privatization Fund 52%. The state controls 82% of VJESNIK shares.

GLAS SLAVONIJE should complete the process of transformation within a month and get a work permit from the Agency for Reconstruction and Development. There are still problems with the property, but it is expected that, after the employees have bought the shares, approximately 51

of the company will be privately owned.

As far as SLOBODNA DALMACIJA is concerned, it is not certain whether the transformation has been carried out. The employees now hold 27

of the company stocks, 45% is controlled by state banks, and various groups are fighting for the rest.

Finally, it should be stressed that the stocks owned by the Privatization Fund are intended for sale. None of the owners of the private publishing companies is a member of the ruling party.

Problems Concerning Division of Assets

93BA0689B Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Feb 93 pp 18-19

[Article by HINA based on interview with Bozo Marendic, coordinator of the Croatian succession project: "The FRY Is Concealing Billions"]

[Text] Zagreb—The report of the Commission for Economic Affairs that is working in connection with the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia, which was recently submitted to cochairmen Cyrus Vance and David Owen, contains among other things proposals for immediately beginning distribution of financial assets and liabilities and the real estate of the former common state which is abroad, Bozo Marendic, coordinator of the Croatian succession project, said in an interview with HINA.

In this connection, Croatia has already prepared a document proposing that the amount for division be divided into several groups so that each of the five states that is a successor of the former Yugoslavia would have a share of each group. Otherwise, Marendic said, the division would be almost impossible to carry out, because the real estate would have to be sold and the money divided up, which is a loss for all the successor states.

Croatia is satisfied with the report as a whole, although there are still quite a few questions that the conference needs to answer as soon as possible, Marendic says, and he mentions that the Croatian Government established an office for succession in late January.

The conference's work on many issues has been slowed up, above all because of the position of the delegation of the "FR Yugoslavia," which holds that only they are the successors of the SFRY, and they oppose partial succession. What is more, they do not accept the succession being carried out by "some conference," but want "everything to be examined and the individual elements canceled out among the parties." Under pressure of the international community, representatives of the "FRY" are nevertheless taking part in the proceedings of the conference, but they are maintaining reservations both with respect to the conferences that have been held up to now (the Hague, Brussels, London, and Geneva) as well as in the approach to working out the succession.

The actual purpose here is to prolong the process, which should not be a surprise, because at the moment the representatives of the "FR Yugoslavia" are administering, consuming, and controlling the real estate abroad, the foreign exchange reserves, the gold, and everything that is valuable and of particular importance.

As for real estate abroad, it has been fully recorded, and its estimated value is greater than $500 million, which includes the price of the appurtenant land. Unfortunately, Marendic added, at the moment we do not have an insight into the furnishings and equipment in the buildings.

The foreign exchange reserves of the former Yugoslavia, according to figures the conference possesses, amounted to more than $5.5 billion. Those reserves were cut in half even during 1991, and there are no figures up to the moment. Nevertheless, some of those funds have been blocked abroad, but at present we still do not have figures on the banks they are in and the amounts of money. Aside from that, there is also gold worth less than $1 billion, on which there are records, but the situation here is similar as with foreign exchange, because only Serbia and Montenegro have had the disposition of it, and they will have to present figures on the present status of foreign exchange reserves and gold.

Croatia has sound figures and good documentation for the status of joint property as of 31 December 1990. However, that date is not the date of succession, which yet has to be defined in the course of the conference.

There is thus documentation of military property on the territory of the entire former Yugoslavia, whose value is estimated at $70 billion. But one needs to be cautious here, Marendic feels, because the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] developed military industry on the principles of a civil contract, and only a small portion, the development center, was their property. Therefore, joint property should also include numerous projects and patents, know-how, and various licenses.

Croatia also has complete records of military housing and the housing of the civilian sector of federal institutions on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, which included 136,000 military units and 14,000 housing units of federal institutions, 44,000 of which are on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

The infrastructure is also one of the matters in dispute. The position of the Republic of Croatia and of a majority of the delegations is that the major division occurred back with the 1974 Constitution, which defined the national property of the republics, Marendic explained. That is, from that date on federal law required pooling.

and so the communities created in that way of the post offices, the electric power industry, and the railroads, and only that property acquired within that community effort, can be the object of succession. The position of the Croatian side is explicit, and an example is Croatia's investment in the Tuzla and Obrenovac Thermal Electric Power Plants, that in the process of succession those contracts are valid and cannot be violated. But this is disputed by Serbia's representatives, who take the position that the entire infrastructure should be divided.

The succession, aside from property and obligations, also encompasses other matters such as citizenship, the vested rights of individuals and firms etc., and it resolves the question of whether foreign property will be returned or compensated, without taking into account whether individuals or firms are citizens. Croatia recognizes that right of foreign nationals, but it also insists that that same right to protection of property be recognized for Croatian citizens; that is, that the value of property destroyed in the war must be compensated. In spite of numerous disagreements, this has brought war damages into the succession, Marendic said, and the position of the other parties, in spite of initial agreement, will be known in early March.

There is also the question here of military and other pensions, and the Croatian proposal is that every successor state assume obligations to its own citizens. It is the proposal of Serbia and Montenegro that funds for this be set aside from the joint property.

So that in the coming period the conference might be more effective, Croatia has proposed that the inventory that will be part of succession be reduced, that an arbitration commission be established to make it uniform, as well as establishment of the present status of joint property which in the meantime has been at the disposition of Serbia and Montenegro. Croatia is demanding that the joint property also include compensation of the damage which Serbia caused in 1990 by attacking the monetary system of the former state, the coordinator of the Croatian succession project, Bozo Marendic, concluded.

Data on Croatian European Movement Council

93BA0679B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian
19 Feb 93 p 13

[Article by Marko Barisic including interview with Ljubomir Cucic, secretary general of the HVEP [Croatian European Movement Council]; place and date not given: "The HVEP Is Independent"]

[Excerpts] The Croatian European Movement Council (HVEP) today has about 1,000 members, 90 percent of whom are university-educated. The members represent all the political options; for instance, Messrs. Granic, Baletic, Veselica (HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union]), Budisa, Cicin-Sain (HSLS [Croatian Social-Liberal Party]), and Degen (SSH [Peasant Party of Croatia]) are members of the HVEP.

The HVEP is organizing advanced specialized training, especially of young people in foreign countries, and its members travel abroad every month to various international meetings, seminars, and summer schools. In addition, the HVEP is also involved in publishing. At present, it is issuing its own newsletter, with news about the effort of the HVEP, but also about current European topics, especially in the area of economic relations with Croatia. The Euroteka Publishing House has also been started, and it has already published Stanko Lasic's book *Tri eseja o Evropi* (*Three Essays on Europe*).

The HVEP has so far managed to build the image of a democratic forum, of a meeting place for independent thinking of Croatia in Europe and of Europe in Croatia. Two discussions have recently been given exceptional publicity in this context: "The Free Press in Croatia" and "Trade Relations Between Croatia and Europe." [passage omitted]

Ljubomir Cucic: Bewitched by Yugoslavia

[Barasic] Why did they hesitate so long in Brussels in accepting the HVEP as a full member?

[Cucic] Since its establishment, we have demanded that the HVEP be granted full membership in the European Movement, at the moment when Croatia was granted international recognition as a state at the very latest. However, we encountered difficulties, efforts to drag out things and make them more difficult, and the reason was that a segment of the Executive Committee of the European Movement felt that the HVEP was supposedly too close to the views of the Croatian Government and that conflicted with our status of a nongovernmental institution. As though Croatia had not been attacked and as though war was not being waged for survival! But we are trying to incorporate certain elements of Europeanization into this region of ours, but at the same time we cannot neglect the vital interests of the Croatian state. The gentlemen in Brussels did not know how to figure that out correctly.

[Barasic] How is it that the door was opened immediately to the Serbian European Movement Council (SVEP)?

[Cucic] I asked Mr. Ambuehl whether there was any normal explanation of that—in the midst of the sanctions and isolation of Serbia—and he replied that in the European Movement the SVEP, by contrast with the HVEP, is considered a liberal opposition to the government (in Serbia), and they need to be given support! The whole matter shows how strongly Europe was formerly bewitched by Yugoslavia, which at one time was an untouchable fetish, even for the European Movement, which likes to think of itself as the Euro-avant-garde.

Alleged Rehabilitation of Babic Reported

93BA0684A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 93 p 11

[Article by Ivkica Bacic: "Milosevic Shuffles the Cards Again"]

[Text] *All indications are that preparations are being made to rehabilitate Milan Babic, while Hadzic, Paspalj, Zecevic, and even Seselj are being scrapped.*

Belgrade—"The cochairmen of the peace conference on the former Yugoslavia have offered us international recognition of our state. The Croats have even offered us an outlet to the sea at Karlobag. Both are asking in return that we allow the 'blue helmets' to resume control over Maslenica and the Zadar hinterland. We, however, have remained consistent and have not agreed to the secession of part of our state." This was the statement by storekeeper Goran Hadzic after talks in New York, which the Belgrade media ran as the lead story of the most important news, suggesting to the public that the storekeeper and his entourage won a "great diplomatic victory" at UN headquarters and that "the Croats have their backs against the wall, forced to agree to ever-greater concessions," so that it is "only a question of days" before the "RSK [Republic of Serbian Krajina]" will also be "internationally recognized."

While the storekeeper is waiting for hell to freeze over, his "subjects" are settling scores with one another, even with weapons. They are being helped zealously in this by "volunteers" from Belgrade, led by war criminal and lawbreaker Arkan. Although the storekeeper invited him as his "special adviser" with the intention of "afterwards bathing in the Zadar sea," Arkan was in Vukovar besieging the local police building and ordering "Martic's people," led by Ilija Kojic, to lay down their weapons. As BORBA writes, Arkan and his warriors have the right to a vacation, and what they do in their free time "is not under the jurisdiction of our military." Kosta Novakovic, however, is much better informed about what is happening in Zadar and Rijeka. He writes that Zadar is "almost an deserted city"; the people, "in panic, are leaving it en masse," while in Rijeka, "because Croats refuse to join the army," the Croatian authorities are "mobilizing Muslims en masse and forcing them to the front."

While Arkan is "on vacation" in Vukovar, according to the Belgrade grapevine, Milan Babic is at Tolstojeva 33, in Dedinje. If we are to believe the grapevine, he was personally invited to Belgrade by the resident of Tolstojeva Ulica, Slobodan Milosevic, who is allegedly paving the way for the Knin dentist's return to the political scene. It is hard to make out what is actually cooking in the "Knin saucepan," which is always heated up in Belgrade, but it is symptomatic that even the regime's VECERNJE NOVOSTI is talking about how the regenerated Babic-Martic tandem "has the confidence of the people," unlike the current team in power in Knin, and thus Hadzic, Paspalj, and Zecevic. That troika was allegedly "too hard-line and uncooperative" for the Leader's taste, so that they will have to go, just as Babic too was previously written off for being "uncooperative." We will find out very quickly what it is that the Knin dentist has now offered the Leader as proof of his "softening," or more precisely what role the resident of Dedinje has assigned to him.

And we will also learn soon whether the Serbian parliament will place on the agenda a "reexamination of the national identity" of the leader of the Serbian fascists, Vojislav Seselj. The initiative on this was taken by a deputy from Draskovic's Serbian Renewal Movement, Aleksandar Taskovic, who substantiates it with "Seselj's unseemly behavior, uncharacteristic of the Serbian national essence. If there are any suspicions that Seselj is not a Serb, then it would not hurt to prove it, especially if it is established that he is also a war criminal," says Taskovic. Meanwhile, even the state media are starting to hassle Seselj because of his "Croatian origin," which is a very reliable sign that the Leader wants to thank him in this way for all the services that he has rendered in the past; i.e., he wants to get rid of him, figuring that this fascist can only hurt him in the future. The fact that the pretext chosen for Seselj's political removal is his alleged "Croathood," which is equally annoying to the regime and to the opposition, is itself a problem deeply rooted in both sets of theories by historian Krestic about how the "Croats are genetically genocidal." "If Seselj were not a Croat, then he would not be a fascist": About that the regime and the opposition are surprisingly in agreement.

Croatia Settles Debt With Krsko Nuclear Plant

AU1103170393 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 11 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Krsko Nuclear Power Plant was relieved this morning when the Croatian Electricity Board settled part of its electricity debt. The Croatian Electricity Board paid $10 million to Krsko. According to the agreement between the two states, Croatia is expected to secure another $5 million next week. [passage omitted]

Drnovsek Remarks on Talks With Trade Unions

AU1503161493 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] We begin our newscast with an interview that Slovene Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek gave to our journalist, Vito Avgustin, regarding the commencement of negotiations on the social pact and the letter that president of the European Confederation of Trade Unions sent to Slovenia.

[Begin recording] [Drnovsek] The increase in personal incomes is extremely great. The latest estimates show that real personal incomes increased by approximately 17 percent in February. Bearing in mind that the December level of personal incomes was in real terms 32 percent higher than a year earlier, these figures make it very clear that we simply cannot sustain such an increase.

Commenting on the letter by the president of the European Confederation of Trade Unions in connection with this, I would like to say that I will read such letters with pleasure if they will clearly state how such an increase in incomes would be financed. If these letters lack this, however, my interest in them will be considerably smaller.

As I have stated on several occasions recently, we are willing to discuss these issues with trade unions and we are trying to agree on a social pact. I am convinced that such a dialogue will take place within the next few months and that for the sake of our common interests we will have to bring this dialogue to a successful and positive conclusion.

[Avgustin] Such a dialogue has already started. How far have you got in the negotiations?

[Drnovsek] The negotiations are not running all that smoothly at the moment. Since the adoption of the law freezing salaries, the trade unions have been reacting somewhat aggressively, I would say. So far they have not participated in the compilation of the procedural rules for the implementation of this law and thus also for realizing the addendum to the collective agreement that this law tries to embody. I nevertheless expect that their position will change and that we will continue the negotiations. [end recording]

Jansa, Macedonian Delegation Discuss Balkans

AU1603082493 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 0600 GMT 16 Mar 93

[Text] A Macedonian Defense Ministry delegation is visiting Slovenia. The delegation met with Slovene Defense Minister Jansa yesterday. They discussed the situation in the Balkans and possibilities for resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

Defense Minister Vlado Popovski, leader of the Macedonian delegation, will visit some of the headquarters and units of the Slovene Territorial Defense today.

Federal

Bank Chief Flees; Depositors Await Audit Results

LD1403135393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1246 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 14 (TANJUG)—One of the largest Yugoslav private companies, Jugoskandik, is about to collapse after the flight of its owner Jezdimir Vasiljevic (45).

A thorough audit carried out by the competent authorities of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia is to show what is really happening with Vasiljevic's company. The results of the audit are eagerly awaited by several hundred thousand depositors, who, attracted by high interest rates amounting up to 15 percent, had deposited their hard currency with Jugoskandik.

Jezdimir Vasiljevic became renowned when he managed to convince world chess champion Bobby Fischer to reenter the international chess stage after 20 years. Jugoskandik last summer financed the chess match of the century between Fischer and Spassky in the luxury Adriatic resort of St. Stefan, which Vasiljevic rented for a few years.

Master Jezda, as his clients and business partners nicknamed him, hastily left for Israel early last week, because of what he called a campaign of the Serbian and Montenegrin authorities against him. On Friday [12 March], he sent a telex from Tel Aviv, ordering the shutting down of the bank branch offices. There is no need to say that his clients feel they have been duped.

Jugoskandik's acting president, Belgrade lawyer Stevan Protic, appealed to the clients over Belgrade TV on Saturday evening "not to create a favorable atmosphere for uncontrolled reactions, because it is obvious that the conscious or unconscious actions of Jugoskandik's owner have involved the company in the dangerous games of some forces which are aimed at undermining peace in our country."

The furious clients, who amount to around half a million according to officially unconfirmed figures, have decided to stage a protest meeting.

Vasiljevic's clients began panicking after his sensational press conference in Budapest, when he threatened he would support the assassinations of some Montenegrin and Serbian politicians and accused four politicians of "state racketeering".

Vasiljevic said that the Montenegrin Government had two months ago confiscated 6,300 tons of fuel in the cities of Podogrica and Bar "inflicting a loss of 67 million marks on Jugoskandic".

Vasiljevic explained that the Montenegrin Government confiscated Jugoskandik's fuel after a dispute over St. Stefan, which he rented last year. He said that the authorities were forcing him to break the rental contract on the luxury resort and pay 1 million marks in damages.

While tensions grow among Jugoskandic clients, Mr. Vasiljevic's few friends in Tel Aviv say that the bank will reopen on Monday and that Vasiljevic has devoted himself to his vacation, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA said on Sunday.

Vasiljevic was presented to the Israeli public as "a Serbian billionaire who is having difficulties with the authorities" and who is in this dramatic manner fighting for justice on behalf of the whole private sector in Yugoslavia.

Bank Appeals for Calm as Deposits Frozen

AU1303204793 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] On the occasion of the announced protest of holders of savings accounts with Jugoskandik, Mr. [Stevan] Protic, the lawyer of this bank, gave the following statement for tonight's newscast:

[Begin recording] The Jugoskandik Corporation, which has been deserted by its owner Mr. Jezdimir Vasiljevic, has to announce the following at this point:

None of the organizations from the Jugoskandik Corporation, including the counter services in our branches, are any longer able to carry out their duties to serve the holders of savings accounts and other business partners. This is because of the following reasons:

As the Yugoslav public knows, Mr. Vasiljevic has ordered the termination of work of all the employees of Jugoskandik, including myself, in a fax message sent from Israel on 11 March. Because of this fax order, today authorized bodies of the Republic of Serbia entered all the business premises of Jugoskandik to carry out the financial control of business operations with the exclusive intention to establish, in this situation, the real factual conditions regarding all the segments of the business transactions so far by the Jugoskandik company.

This means that the branches of the company will not objectively be in the position to work until the control of the Jugoskandik business operations is completed. Because of that, all the Jugoskandik employees are appealing to the holders of savings accounts with not only Jugoskandik, but also with other private banks, not to cause with their anxiety a climate that would lead to uncontrolled reactions in front of banks and other public places, as it is obvious that—through deliberate or otherwise acts by its owner—Jugoskandik has been dragged into dangerous games of some forces that want to undermine the internal security in our country.

Because of that, we appeal to the holders of savings accounts for calm to allow the authorized state bodies to complete the normal control of the Jugoskandik papers.

after which Jugoskandik will continue its work if there are any objective possibilities for that. [end recording]

Jovanovic Stresses Importance of Peace Talks

AU1203215193 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Interview with Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic by Tatjana Lenard; place not given—live]

[Text] [Lenard] Mr. Minister, what is your impression of the Paris talks?

[Jovanovic] We heard from reactions by numerous participants and some observers that yesterday's meeting was more than a meeting. This was an important political event that was absolutely correctly assessed by everyone as a significant step toward peace and the final political settlement of the crisis. This assessment was not made simply because this is nice thing to say—because it does sound nice—but because this time the Yugoslav side was treated as a side that not only has a certain influence and role in the settlement of the crisis, but a side that is a partner and not an opponent that should be demonized, criticized, or threatened.

This respect of Yugoslavia and President Milosevic is not only a matter of formality and courtesy, but is, I would say, a turning point, a consequence of a certain revision in the views of the international community that the path that it has been pursuing so far—the path of blackening Serbia, suppressing it, placing it in front of a wall—is a path that does not lead to any success, but only to further complications and destabilization in the entire region.

Finally, I would also say that several participants in the talks last night, including President Mitterrand, Dr. Owen, and others, stressed several times that Yugoslavia and the Serbian people, who are in the central position in the Balkans, are an absolutely necessary partner and factor in the quest for and the achievement of a peaceful solution for Bosnia-Hercegovina. What is also important is that they are also an impassable factor of stability in the Balkan Peninsula. Considering that Europe could not remain immune if the destabilization were to continue as a process in one of its parts, then it is understandable why it was stressed that the sanctions, their extension, or tightening would only prolong a dangerous security vacuum in Europe, something that Europe as a continent undergoing full integration cannot afford. So, this is a positive, new moment in the understanding of others, who, let us hope, will play an increasingly important role in the tackling of the Yugoslav crisis.

On the other hand, this is the first time that the sanctions have been brought into direct connection with the war in Bosnia, although we know that they were introduced because of the war in Bosnia, but under a still unproved supposition that Yugoslavia is the main culprit for the situation there. This time, paths and possibilities for sanctions as the means of a policy for realizing undeclared aims being used in the Yugoslav crisis, thus making the settlement of the crisis in a just and intelligent political way, have been cut.

Finally, the voices that we were hearing at the end of the recent talks in New York—that the eleventh hour is over and the remaining two Bosnian nations now only have to say yes or no to the maps—is no longer presented and interpreted in such an apocalyptical way. On the contrary, it is being stressed that the negotiations should be extended, continue the process of talks and negotiations as a process involving partners, which assumes that no solutions should be imposed or threats issued. All partners in the process should freely express their views without solutions being imposed from outside.

Finally, let us also add something that is perhaps not that directly politically colored, but that certainly exceeds all frameworks of courtesy and wishes of the host to particularly treat his guests kindly, namely the fact that Yugoslavia, the Serbian people, via President Milosevic, were very highly respected throughout the visit. President Mitterrand demonstrated this by being present and actively participating in the talks. Out of the total four and a half hours, he virtually spent four hours in active talks, trying all the time to remind the other participants in the meeting, as well as the world public, that the Serbs are old and proud European people, that they must be absolutely treated with full respect, that there is no political solution without an equal participation of Serbia, and that there can be no security system in Europe if this dangerous security vacuum, which is represented by Serbia and Yugoslavia under the sanctions, is not removed as soon as possible.

In this sense, bringing the sanctions into connection with the end of the war—that is, with the peace—is the fact that does not only suit us and our needs and interests, but I would say it suits the equal needs of Europe for this crisis to be over as soon as possible, something that would protect Europe from possible future destabilization in this region and beyond.

[Lenard] What can be expected now? The talks will continue in New York. What will be the role of Serbia and Yugoslavia?

[Jovanovic] First of all, it is not unimportant that the talks are continuing, because just a few days ago, they were virtually proclaimed finished, and the Serbian side in Bosnia was simply asked to express its views. Otherwise, it was going to experience the worst things that could be experienced by those who, as they say, are not sufficiently cooperative. Therefore, the continuation of the negotiation is at the same time the revaluation, the reaffirmation of the original principle that these negotiations are negotiations among equal sides, three constituent peoples, that the talks assume free will, and there are no, nor could there be, solutions imposed from outside.

We expect that in the talks on the maps, both sides—the leadership of the Bosnian Serbs and the two cochairmen—will invest their own efforts, in terms of both a flexible approach to the still outstanding issues and the readiness to make mutual concessions and compromises. We in fact understood that the maps can and should be adjusted in the sense of pleasing the Serbs in Bosnia to the maximum, as well as equally taking care of the interests of other sides. This is what the role of the mediators amount to, and we understood that the two cochairmen will consistently play this role until the end of this process.

Therefore, the assessments that we heard here, that the continuation of the talks in New York can be perceived with optimism, I think that these assessments are not exaggerated. The talks in New York deserve to be supported by all sides, including us. However, let me remind you that these talks, like many similar ones, are talks that are not moving along a straight line, but rather a zig-zag line, and that it is possible that some tactical, negative surprises could occur. This should not be discouraging, because, as stated several times in the past, the war option has been removed. The talks in Paris have pushed this option even further, not quite into oblivion, but certainly from being topical. Political talks and political solutions simply do not have an alternative.

[Lenard] Thank you, Mr. Minister.

[Jovanovic] Thank you.

MTI Interviews Jovanovic on National Minorities

LD1603095493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0916 GMT 16 Mar 93

[Text] Budapest, March 16 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav vice-premier and foreign minister Vladislav Jovanovic said on Monday [15 March] that there was no need for separate autonomies for the national minorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, but that much could be done regarding the respect of their rights.

In an interview to the Hungarian agency MTI following talks in Belgrade with secretary of state with the Hungarian Foreign Ministry Janos Martonyi, Jovanovic described the talks as open, sincere and beneficial. He said that both Yugoslavia and Hungary wanted to preserve and strengthen mutual ties. He expressed hope that the talks would soon continue in Budapest.

Speaking about the position of Vojvodina Hungarians in Yugoslavia, a subject on which much of the talks with Martonyi focused, Jovanovic underscored that both sides had agreed that Yugoslavia was one of the few European and the only Balkan country which has defined itself in its constitution as a state of equal citizens, and not only of Serbs and Montenegrins. There is therefore no need to give any special precedence to any group of Yugoslav citizens by giving them special treatment, the agency quoted Minister Jovanovic as saying.

Jovanovic, however, underscored as justified the request to enhance the already extensive rights which Yugoslavia offers to its national minorities. Much more could be done in that respect, Jovanovic said.

Jovanovic denied claims about the forcible recruitment of Vojvodina Hungarians, but he said that there could have been individual illegal actions by some organs of authority.

Kontic Discusses Issues with Russian Envoy

LD1503185993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 15 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, 15 March (TANJUG)—Radoje Kontic, president of the government [prime minister] of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, today received Russian Ambassador Gennadiy Shikin, who presented him with a message of congratulations from Viktor Chernomyrdin, president of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation, following Kontic's election as president of the Yugoslav government.

Speaking of his government's approach to this crisis, President Kontic said that it will advocate a just, stable and lasting peace in our areas. He pointed out that solutions imposed by any side would not be conducive to this aim and that one ought to establish and thoroughly analyze the causes of this tragedy so as to achieve a lasting peace, something that has not been taken into sufficient account. Any other solutions not stemming from the political interests of some international factors would be short-lived, Kontic said.

In the course of their talk about resolving the crisis, particular attention was paid to Russia's recently published eight-point plan and the Russian Federation's further involvement.

They also discussed cooperation between the two countries under the regime of sanctions, particularly operations of a humanitarian nature, as well as some other bilateral issues, it is stressed in this statement by the Federal Ministry of Information.

Fertilizer Shortage Threatens Spring Sowing

LD1603124693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1121 GMT 16 Mar 93

[Text] Belgrade, March 16 (TANJUG)—Of Yugoslavia's seven fertilizer manufacturing plants, only the Pancevo plant remains in operation with its production reduced to a minimum which will be unable to alleviate the huge shortage ahead of the start of spring sowing.

The resumption of production depends on the continuity of gas deliveries, TANJUG learned on Tuesday [16 March] in the Pancevo plant.

The shortage of gas shut down the plant on November 1 until mid-February.

Gas imports have been cut short by the U.N. Security Council sanctions, imposed against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia last May for its alleged involvement in the ethnic war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Local sources of gas in Serbia's Vojvodina Province have maintained production at a minimum after major local consumers agreed to give up their share.

In a story titled "Gas Empties Production Halls," Belgrade paper PRIVREDNI PREGLED said that a number of large Vojvodina plants, which gave up "their share" of the gas, were left without heating and were forced to halt production.

According to Federal Agriculture Ministry estimates, the lack of spring fertilization could lower by one-third the expected wheat harvest on some 2.5 million hectares.

Gasoline Prices Increase by 120 Percent

AU1403195593 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Mar 93

[Excerpt] As of tonight, gasoline in exchange for coupons will be sold at all gas stations at a 120-percent increase in price. [passage omitted]

Economic System Seen as Cause of Agriculture Crisis

93BA0687B Belgrade EKONOMSKA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 93 pp 22-23

[Article by Milosav Ilijin: "Forgotten Preelection Promises"]

[Text] *Converting to "draft animals." Transferring responsibility to new government.*

The beginning of spring agricultural activities is only weeks away, but this can hardly be noticed by the actions of those upon whose decisions and measures, the flow and results of the agricultural activities, depend. This holds true for the state bodies, above all the republics and local bodies. Because, solving the practical problems of the total agricultural production, starting with fuel, seeds, chemicals, and on to the economic issues such as prices, loans, etc., has long been in the hands of the state. The spring sowing became, thus, a state business in the true sense of the word.

This circumstance, naturally, is not a new phenomenon, but the result of decades of keeping agriculture in the position of a social-political activity, of a "semi-economy," a term we used with mild irony, in other words—on the border of nationalization. Every agricultural activity, including the spring sowing, in itself a most extensive annual activity in agriculture, bears this heavy seal. What is fatal this spring is that this major job, in the midst of a deep economical and social crisis, also coincides with the change of all state bodies—assemblies, governments, ministries, local as well as republic, and federal. Partisan intolerances and quarrels about power and legal competencies have pushed into the background even those issues that should be solved in a routine manner, and by the pure inertia of state management. Obviously, we are far behind the European countries where the rule is that ministers and governments may change twice a day if they will, but the institutions keep functioning. The problem with our country is even greater—cadre purging of a political nature has spread over these very institutions, even the economy.

However, this unexpected disaster is just the external appearance of much deeper inner obstructions under which agriculture enters its season. First, among the blockages is the status of agricultural farms, with their possibilities drastically limited by state decisions. The other one is the condition of the market for agricultural products, chopped up, monopolized, impoverished, and destroyed to its maximum. Then, there is the international blockade which, true, exempts the import of humanitarian goods, even foodstuffs, but not the import of fuel, raw materials, and a variety of other materials needed for domestic food production. The international blockade also does not exempt the conditions for the "production" of money (exports), which could be used for paying for such materials since the idea of self-sufficiency by our state was born in its own head and has proved to be futile.

This same culprit, the state, in whose hands rest the keys for removing the various blockades, shows neither the awareness nor the will necessary to do just that. And, this is the heaviest burden on the farmers who are on the threshold of the spring sowing, which is, literally, crucial for all of agriculture.

Beyond the realm of possibility, of approximately 3.74 million hectares of arable land within the present borders of Yugoslavia, at least 2.85 million hectares should be tilled during the spring campaign, i.e., 2.5 million hectares should be sowed (about 370,000 hectares are under perennial plantings). This with the assumption that the December estimate by the Federal Ministry for Agriculture proves to be correct, which is that all of the planned 853 million hectares were sowed with fall crops, and providing these crops spent the winter without having been plowed over, the surfaces for spring sowing are increased.

The available mechanization is more than sufficient to carry out the spring activities, according to dynamics and calendar deadlines for some of the plantings, as the farms have about 300,000 tractors, 650,000 plows, and 40,000 seeding machines. Things are, however, quite different regarding fuel. Diesel-2 shortages started last fall and continued even after the elections. Promises given to the farmers that October and November coupons would be good in January have been forgotten, and the assurance of 150,000 metric tons of fuel needed for the spring agricultural activities is strictly tied to domestic sources and the famous "Danube breakthrough" (or some other). There are assumptions that a

certain number of farmers/tractor-owners possess some amount fuel reserves. The question, however, is whether those that have fuel reserves, knowing that it can be used for automobiles and other machines, and that it comes at a high price at the black market, will be willing to use it for soil cultivation when they know that no one guarantees a pay off. It is even less likely that the farms that have no tractors will be willing, and capable, to pay for cultivation services at prices that include this added expense.

The real reserve of draft animal power is made up of some 94,000 horses (74,000 in Serbia), and an undetermined number of "working cows," estimated to be a couple of thousand—a category known only from earlier Yugoslav statistics—to which we undoubtedly owe a good deal of the wheat sowed last fall. If done by horse-drawn machines, the spring sowing activities would last for months. The fact that today's farms have a total of 51,000 mares for foaling, that the gestation period for a mare is 11 months, and that it takes three years to raise a team of draft horses, speaks well of the accountability of our state strategists who suggested that the fuel embargo be fought by switching to draft animals.

The fertilizer situation is none the less drastic. At this moment, factory reserves are only 17,000 tons, a third of the minimum amount necessary for top dressing of the wheat crop. The factory workers are on forced vacation, and it is not known if the production will even start because there is no gas, phosphates, or potassium, or how they are going to be able to obtain the "approved" $16 million, which the National Bank does not have, to purchase such imports. Total confusion was created by an inarticulate statement by the Serbian government that for January they would ensure double the amount of natural gas for the needs of the fertilizer factories, and that these quantities would even increase several fold for February and March. Is it at all possible to convince the UN Sanctions Committee to treat these imports as food imports, and even if it does, the planned production of 520,000 tons of KAN, NPK, and urea is not sufficient to cover even the most modest norms of agriculture (under 50 kg of active matter per 1 hectare).

The major issue, however, is—how much will such fertilizers cost, and would it be at all acceptable to the farmers? If the government keeps to the established ratio between wheat and fertilizer of 1:1, of urea 1:1.6, of NPK 1:1.7, and of a wheat-corn ratio of 1:0.9, it remains a puzzle as to how these prices are going to be determined on the basis of the current guaranteed price of wheat (80 dinars/kg), which was the price last fall, and if the present state "market" price is 200 dinars/kg. Or, how to determine the price of fertilizer, and at the same time, on the basis of the established ratios, satisfy the proportion one cubic meter of natural gas to 2.18 tons of basic nitrogen fertilizer to 2.89 tons of wheat. Gas prices are so high that they are not even covered by the actual market price of wheat in free nonstate trade (from 800 to 1,000 dinars/kg), not to mention corn, which in the "interfarmer" trade is sold for a song.

"Adjusting" is especially illusory if the fertilizer factories have to realize their "foreign currency rights" through agio. But, our authorities appear to have a "solution" for this, too. They will transfer the whole problem to the future federal government, of yet undetermined composition or mandate, with a suggestion to solve the irreconcilable disparities through budget compensation, i.e., with new interests/taxes on all issued loans, in a new round of rampant inflation. The real problem, however, lies in the fact that the government cannot control it, and the economy can not tolerate it.

The same problems, with no less distinctions, arise even there where the available quantities of material exceed actual needs. Such is the case with seed corn, but the price ratio is not the only questionable issue. The government bodies instructed that the parity of seed corn to mercantile corn be in the ratio of 1:17. The "merit" of using well-selected seeds of hybrid corn, along with modern techniques, is in that it gives yields higher than the above proportions, but it is also well known that with a decline in agricultural techniques and related low crop yields, then the "merit" falls below the limit of profitability. Twenty kilograms of seed per hectare makes a small percentage change in the yield of 50-60 mg, but with the decrease in yield its share grows to one-fifth, and unpredictably more in income, if the future price of mercantile corn is unknown. This is why many farmers turn to old types of corn, such as flint corn and dent corn, thus giving up on high yields. The reasons for this being a low demand and an extremely low price for corn, which is the result of a drastic decline in stock raising and the total blockade of exports.

In the realm of the rational, absurd assumptions prevail among state planners. Such as, that even without, or certainly with reduced amounts, of adequate inputs we can achieve such production and economic effects which would be able to buffer drastic blows to whatever little economic relations and motifs are left which, till now, passably managed to maintain the continuity of the production cycle. On the other hand, among business people, especially those from the "competent associations" of (socially owned) companies there are also illusions that the problems with the spring sowing could be resolved if the UN Committee for Sanctions could be persuaded that the treatment of the importation of raw materials needed for the production of fertilizers, or the material needed for plant protection, be the same as for the importation of food.

From an agrarian point of view, these assumptions prove to be naive and unreal, to put it mildly, and also lack objectivity. Not because it is not easy to beg the "mighty" to lift the blockade or because they do not have any interest for this part of the global market but, above all, because a partial lifting of the blockade brings no solution to the problem of payment for imports. The Yugoslav agriculture crisis, within the framework of an entire economy and society in a crisis, is not the result or consequence of a foreign blockade but the other way around—the degradation of agriculture is one of the reasons for this crisis. The

agrarian policy, within the whole economic system, made farmers incapable to produce with full economic responsibility. The status of agriculture and farmers in this system is determined by a general priority set by industry and by the secondary role of the agrarian sector as the one that supplies the population with inexpensive food, and supplies industry with raw materials. For most farms—regardless of the right to land—the choice has been reduced to taking the smallest risk in production, without any opportunity for choosing the level of risk they are willing to assume. This is what, a long time ago, made even the best equipped socially owned farms lose their interests in expanding their farms, even by taking abandoned lands, and especially for investing in more intensive production. Proof of that is a drastic decline in cattle raising. As far as private farms go, several decades of limiting the possession of land, priority with industry, of degradation and depopulation of the villages resulted in a loss of interest among farmers to buy land or expand in spite of the lifting of land maximums in the past two years, and the fact that land, illegally appropriated during the second agrarian reform of 1953, was offered for a pittance. The general ideal thus becomes—the smaller the investment, the smaller the risks, the less work even if that means no income. From an economic viewpoint, this is entirely rational. It is, in fact, a variant of an original peasant idea which became the joke of our social economy—you cannot pay me so little for so little work. (Only, in industry this has already reached the counterpoint while in the agriculture this has not yet happened.)

In recent years, the major trend in farming has been to produce only enough to satisfy one's own needs, with marginal production meant for interfarm markets or the possible contracting for the production of industrial crops where the buyer "gives" all the primary materials and manufacturing components. This trend will certainly dominate this spring's sowing but on a much lower level of agricultural engineering and productivity. The monopoly-monopsony, the closed local market, contributes most to the total isolation on all levels.

Due to the "complexity" of this agrarian crisis, the partial lifting of sanctions for this sector will not bring any progress until the basic obstructions to the status of farms are lifted. Only the creation of conditions and the possibility of market production, and the opening of ways for economic flow, can bring pressure for removal of the causes of this crisis, even the foreign blockade. This explains the inflexibility of the governing political powers towards such opening.

Turkish 'Threat' to Balkans Seen as Increasing

93BA0686C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 93 p 7

[Article by Ljubodrag Stojadinovic: "Disastrous Threats"]

[Text] Turgut Ozal, the squat Turkish chief of state, is probably the first sultan in the history of the actual or projected Ottoman Empire to set out alone to surround a country. Unfortunately, this is neither an attempt to replace atavistic military symbols with the relatively civilized trip of the head of a state. Following fanatical demonstrations in Ankara, which he personally evoked with his inexplicable militaristic charisma, Ozal actually set out to surround Serbia, seeking friends among his neighbors and enemies. Turgut simply is not a man for whom closing the circle around hateful Serbia is a leisurely job. That was evident in the very first hours he spent outside Turkey, when he replaced his uncontrolled and militarily undefined outcries with a kind of diplomatic parody.

His hosts mainly understood him. But they obviously did not understand everything, because their possible participation in helping the "remake" of domination of the fez in the Balkans would signify a very risky concession of their own territory.

That fact, it seems, is the key problem for Bulgaria and Macedonia, especially for the latter, whose entire national history has been marked with unsuccessful attempts to throw off a tyrannical Turkish regime. On the basis of what Mr. Kiro Gligorov, former president of the SFRY Assembly, has said, and paying due respect to the servility with which Ozal has been welcomed in Macedonia, our southern neighbors have a radical quarrel with the Serbs more in mind than a dangerous friendship with the Turks. But in the choice of enemies and allies the interests of the moment sometimes are more urgent than the terrible historical memory and truth that without the Serbs the Turks never would have left Macedonia, and Ozal's visit to Gligorov would in that case have been pointless. Quickly forgetting the Albanian-Macedonian armed drama at Bit Pazar, the authorities in Skopje made it possible for their high-level guest from Turkey to talk to the Kosovo Skipetars in the Macedonian Assembly, those same people who carried out the Bit Pazar rebellion; in coordination with an Albanian grouping from Tetovo and Dabar.

It might be said that the military-political confusion in the Balkans is complete, but that is not altogether so. Ozal's pressure in the form of a one-man "encirclement" does have its logic, in spite of the fact that Mr. Sulejman Demirel did not agree to this scenario for the trip. The encirclement, which Islam is attempting to squeeze around Serbia with the help of servile neighbors, comes at an hour of a crucial strategic hesitation of the Clinton team concerning the Balkans. Ozal is a man who symbolically offers the model of decisiveness, but the Serbian neighbors are not his paramount goal, but rather Kosmet and Sandzak. As well as the corridor to Bosnia. If Turkey decided to head for Bosnia without coverage of the Security Council, it is felt that it could not do this without the blessing of Bulgaria and Macedonia, without war with Greece, and without a rebellion in Kosmet and Sandzak.

That would be too heavy a burden, and Turgut, like the Lone Ranger, motivated in the Balkans more by hatred than a rational expansionist plan, is seeking not only the easiest route to the "brothers" in Bosnia, but also reliable friends along the way.

The top government leadership of Turkey feels today that the most important caravansary for their campaign toward the heart of the nonexistent Bosnian-Muslim state is Sandzak. Much more has been invested in that part of Serbia than the public knows. Novi Pazar and Sjenica, in spite of the government's efforts, are a wasp nest of smuggling of arms, drugs, and foreign exchange. The key investment, nevertheless, is Sulejman Ugljanin, former boxer and once a dentist, who heads the extremist SDA [Democratic Action Party]. He says of himself that he is an Ottoman, carries a dagger, is an Asian ambassador, Allah's warrior, and a hater of Serbs greater than all other haters.

In spite of all the appeasements, he advocates rebellion and war, and that for two reasons which to him are essential: First, the world would finally be convinced that the only thing to do against the Serbs and with them is to wage war, and second, still more important, is that an armed breach for "Turkey's legitimate involvement" would be ideal for Ozal's "encirclement." The state of Serbia has up to this moment been more than well-disposed toward Mr. Ugljanin, reluctantly equating his terrorist extremism with free political expression. Thanks to the constant upheavals in the top federal leadership, Yugoslav diplomacy seems to have applied its potter's [the name of the former Yugoslav foreign minister means "potter"] sterility precisely in relations with Turkey: Our official meekness in this case was depressingly humiliating, practically without a note or demarche, with no protest or response that would come even close to the level of what was an abrupt and serious threat beyond any measure.

Such steps, naturally, were not forthcoming toward our neighboring countries who have hosted Ozal either, offering him the host's support in his war cry of Allah and his outpourings of extremely primitive hatred of Serbia.

The average man here, who is fighting a terrible economic uncertainty, thinks with good reason that we must keep out of war and do everything for it never to occur along with the other miseries which have befallen us. But he does not understand and does not take the trouble to realize (with good reason in our judgment) why we pass over in silence so strikingly the Turkish threats and janissary revelry of their ambassador Sulja Ugljanin. Only on that account does the operatic encirclement of all of us by Mr. Ozal have an ominous ring. But more for our southern and eastern neighbors than for us. After all, Turkish troops will remain as occupiers only where they are allowed as friends.

Croatian Provocations on RSK Border Alleged

93BA0684D Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 93 p 4

[Article by Branislav Gulan: "In Mirkovci, on the Border With Croatia: Trenches for Defense"]

[Text] *Mirkovci, separated from Vinkovci by only a line, is ready for defense in the event of aggression by the Croatian Armed Forces. Forty kilometers of trenches have been dug around the town in the border region with Croatia. There are 180 Croat families left living in the town, who share the good and the bad with the Serbs.*

"In recent days, in the border region between the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia, in the vicinity of Vinkovci and the Spacvan Forest, the grouping of Croatian armed formations has been observed, together with the digging in of tanks, and nearly every day there are provocations and exchanges of gunfire. In recent days, Croatian units have grouped at Markusic Forest, and then at the town of Komletinci. Since the declaration of a state of war in the Republic of Serbian Krajina, people in Mirkovci have been ready to defend their territory.

"We no longer believe anyone, and for that reason we are ready to defend our territory at any moment if there is an attack by Croatian armed formations," says Vukasin Egic, the president of Mirkovci Opstina, in a statement for BORBA. "The best proof that we are prepared is the very fact that we have dug as many as 40 kilometers of trenches in this border zone with neighboring Croatia. I must say that we no longer have confidence even in the United Nations, nor do we believe anyone when they say that they will protect us. We experienced that in Sector South, which cannot be repeated here. We are certain that we will defend ourselves from any attack. With the key that we have, we also opened the warehouses with the heavy weaponry and distributed weapons to the people so that they can defend themselves if there is aggression. The latest events too have proven that there can be no coexistence with the Croats as long as the Ustashi government is in power. There can be neither agreements nor negotiations with them until they are completely defeated militarily. Then we will dictate to them our conditions, but we will not be under their control. Because if the Croats had wanted to negotiate, all of this would not have happened. Even now they are continually violating the cease-fire, and the best proof is that they recently killed two of our people, and abducted a third."

[Gulan] On the battlefield of the former Yugoslavia, the first "hot line" was set up in Mirkovci. Even today, you have a "link" with Croatia. Have there been any results from that?

"The line exists and is working, although only technically. However, the results have been poor," says Egic. "Every day when there are provocations, we warn our neighbors on the 'hot line' before responding to them

with fire. Then they apologize and promise not to shoot any more. The 'justification' is that some guardist got drunk and did it. As soon as we hang up the same thing is repeated. Thus, we are using this hot line less and less now."

[Gulan] There are still Croats in Mirkovci today. Is it possible to live together?

"There are 4,100 people in the town today. Of that number there are around 180 Croat families. The ones who stayed are Croats for whom this is home, who want to live with us and share the good and the bad. There is no difference whatsoever between our old-timers and the Croat old-timers. We respect each other, we help each other, as if we were not in a state of war. But we are all in the trenches together, defending the town, the opstina, and the Republic. Still, it is sad. There are Croats living here who have close relatives in Vinkovci, in the guard. Vinkovci and the border are only 300 meters from us. People are often forced to fire at their own relatives. But that's life, because the Croats who have stayed to live with us are responding to the mobilization," Egic emphasizes. "Otherwise, 150 Croat families have left town. They left voluntarily. We are looking after their houses until this war is finally resolved. All the property has been registered, and anyone who returns here will be back in his own home. But given the situation there are few people who will return. Anyway, we know the procedure for returning, and it is to submit a request to the High Commissioner for Refugees, and together we decide on the request within 60 to 90 days. The main condition for approving someone's return is that no one in the family participated in the fighting on the enemy side."

Serbia

Seselj Proposes Creation of 'West Serbia'

AU1503131493 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 12 Mar 93 p 15

["Lj.S."-signed report: "A New State 'West Serbia'"]

[Excerpt] No one has the right to accept on behalf of the Serbian people the ultimatum by Vance and Owen [cochairmen of the Conference on Yugoslavia] on the internal borders of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina and the corridor linking Krajina with Serbia.

This was stated by Vojislav Seselj, leader of the Serbian Radical Party, at a news conference yesterday commenting on the intensified pressure on the Serbian delegation from Bosnia and the leaders of Serbia to sign the proposed maps on the division of Bosnia. It is obvious that Mitterrand, Vance, and Owen will exert pressure on Milosevic in Paris to persuade Serbs from Bosnia to sign the maps, but I do not think that they will succeed in this.

The Serbian Radical Party supports the wish of the Serbian people in the Serbian republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina to unite in one state. We suggest that they proclaim independence and strive for the country's recognition. This country could be called "West Serbia" [zapadna Srbija], Seselj said. [passage omitted]

Milosevic: Visit of Greek Deputies 'Very Important'

AU1203211493 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Statement by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic in Belgrade on 12 March—recorded]

[Text] I would like to say that we held very exhaustive talks with the delegation of Greek parliament members, which in its entirety expressed the great solidarity and friendship that the Greek nation feels toward our country and nation in this crisis.

I am sure that the relations between our two countries will develop in the interest of both nations and that mutual links will be strengthened in all spheres of cooperation—economic, cultural, political, and others.

It seems to me, and I am sure I can say so, that this visit by the representatives of the Greek parliament is a very important political event for our country. I would like to say that this visit represents yet another additional contribution toward the strengthening of mutual understanding between our two countries and nations.

Electricity Prices Rise by 195 Percent

AU1303162993 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Mar 93

[Text] The Electricity Board of Serbia [Elektroprivreda] has announced that, as of today, the price of electricity will increase by 195 percent. [passage omitted]

Local Black Market for Oil Reportedly Flourishing

AU1503141593 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Mar 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Jugodrvo Company Is the Biggest Importer of Oil"]

[Text] The black wave has pounded Serbia and the oil slick is threatening to dirty the cheeks and career of many politicians. Trading and black-marketeering with oil has become the most lucrative job. Beside the ministers who are already in detention, the names of Zelenovic [Dragutin, former Serbian prime minister], Bozovic [Radoman, former Serbian prime minister] and some other ministers from the Sainovic cabinet are increasingly being mentioned in connection with oil transactions. BORBA has learned that the black market for oil is also functioning and that the main floor activities are

conducted in a bar in Makis, near Belgrade. Oil worth millions of German marks is being traded.

The biggest importer of oil, since the embargo has been introduced, is a Belgrade firm Jugodrvo. This was confirmed by Gojko Zecar, chairman of the management board, during his conversation with a BORBA reporter. The company is clean, and I cannot answer your question whether Vlajkovic and Mihajlovic [former ministers] have demanded money from us and whether the money was given to them, Zecar said.

Zecar admitted that Jugodrvo has redecorated the apartment of the former minister Vlajkovic and that the deal was financed by three private firms: Velefar, Delta Bank, and Astro-Orion Holding.

BORBA has also learned from reliable sources that Jezdimir Vasiljevic [head of Jugoskandik bank] did.not buy 100 kilograms of gold as he had stated, but only 10 kilograms, because he could not pay for the entire order, and sell he did not want to create gold debtors. [sentence as published]

Otherwise, there were long lines of savers in front of the Jugoskandik Bank in Belgrade yesterday. The citizens mainly wanted to withdraw their money.

UN Commission Accused of Bias Against Serbs

LD1503171193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1643 GMT 15 Mar 93

["Pool" item—by Natasa Ojdanic]

[Text] Geneva, March 15 (TANJUG)—The U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva last week, with its one-sided and nonargumented approach to Yugoslavia, proved it was becoming an executive body of world powers, especially of the United States.

Although the two resolutions adopted at the 49th session—on the violation of human rights and on rape—refer to the former Yugoslavia, the condemnation refers only to Serbs, in whatever part of the country they live.

In its final report, the commission, as it said, condemned most strongly all conflicting sides for the violation of human rights, but those most responsible nonetheless were said to be Serb leaders in Bosnia, Croatia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and commanders of the Serb para-military formations.

In its resolution on the abuse of women, the commission generally condemned the crimes of rape, yet specifying that only one side was guilty—Bosnian Serb military formations for the rape of Moslem women.

The commission extended the mandate of its rapporteur Tadeusz Mazowiecki for another year and even asked U.N. secretary general to raise his allowances.

In a letter handed to the chairman of the 49th session on Thursday [11 March], the Yugoslav government said that Mazowiecki's stance was racist and hoped his report would be recalled.

Certain parts of Mazowiecki's report on the former Yugoslavia were denied by some non-governmental organizations, even by the Thompson mission of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and a group of physicians from the European Community. Nonetheless, the commission told Mazowiecki to go on examining the cases of rape in the former Yugoslavia and report by June 30.

The commission suggested that the U.N. send an observer mission to Serbia's provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina, and the Sandzak region, appearing no longer to be an expert body of the U.N. Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). Instead, it apparently becomes a political body in direct communication with the U.N. Security Council, assuming the role that belongs to ECOSOC.

It is surprising that the commission expressed enormous concern for the position of minorities in Kosovo (ethnic Albanians), Sandzak (Moslems) and Vojvodina (ethnic Hungarians) but neglected the fact that Albania's constitution does not recognize minorities at all.

Seselj Assesses Talks With North Korea Ambassador

AU1303135393 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Interview with Dr. Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party, by Dragan Milutinovic in Belgrade on 12 March—recorded]

[Text] [Milutinovic] Mr. Seselj, you just completed talks with the North Korean ambassador here in the Federal Assembly. What did you discuss?

[Seselj] I received Mr. Yu Se-ung, ambassador of North Korea. In a longer formal discussion, we exchanged opinions about the international political situation and the situation in which our two countries have presently found themselves. We mostly agreed on foreign policy issues concerning the independence of countries and nations and the resistance against anyone's will being imposed upon nations and countries.

[Milutinovic] Was there any mention of the Bosnia-Hercegovina war and the Yugoslav crisis, in general?

[Seselj] I acquainted the ambassador with the highlights of the crisis in former Yugoslavia and received his government's understanding for the present suffering of the Serbian nation and our struggle against foreign pressures and domination. The Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea is also currently facing an economic blockade and its government and nation are particularly concerned with the U.S. maneuvers on the Korean coast.

North Korea is being accused of arming itself with nuclear arms and this is probably one of the pretexts for a possible intervention. We know very well what sort of propaganda lies and slander the Americans resort to; we just have to remember the fabrications that the Serbs bombed civilians queuing for bread and water, as well as at the Sarajevo cemetery.

[Milutinovic] Will similar diplomatic activities take place in the future?

[Seselj] There have been such activities, especially in the last two months, but at a somewhat lower diplomatic level because numerous countries recalled their ambassadors from Belgrade. Therefore, I mostly met with charge d'affaires and first secretaries from Russia, Romania, Greece, France, Canada, Bulgaria, and other countries.

Serbian Renewal Movement Sent Volunteers To Bosnia

LD1203234093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 12 Mar 93

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 12 Mar (TANJUG)—Last month the Serbian Renewal Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove—SPO] sent around 1,000 volunteers across the Drina river. One third of them joined the light infantry brigade of Major Boro Antelj [Serb commander in southeastern Bosnia-Hercegovina]. This was stated by Vule Visnjevac, the president of the SPO regional committee for southern Backa [region in northern Serbia] at a news conference held in Novi Sad. [passage omitted]

Visnjevac said that the situation at the Nevesinje-Mostar-Kalinovik 200 km long front was very difficult. He said that only three brigades of the [Bosnian] Serb army were deployed in this entire region and he appealed to all men who fled this area "to come back to help defend it and possibly to participate in the liberation of the Serb territory on the left bank of the Neretva river." [passage omitted]

Sandzak Muslim Boycott of Military Service

93BA0686B Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jan 93 p 17

[Article by Vladen Marjanovic: "In the Raska Region: Muslim Boycott of Military Service"]

[Text] Since September 1991, the Raska Military Section has several times attempted to carry out mobilization on the territory of the Raska region. However, from the territory of Novi Pazar, Sjenica, and Tutin Opstinas only the Serbs responded, while the Muslims, who represent 70 percent of the population of those opstinas, have boycotted and avoided mobilization and military service in various ways.

Because in their actions and failure to respond to the draft the Muslims on the territory of the Raska region have excluded themselves from the ranks of the Army of Yugoslavia, they should at least return the uniforms issued to them. However, few of them even responded to the call to return the uniforms. Difficulties are also being caused by the fact that there are not even proper records on who is responsible for returning what, because they were kept by disbanded commands of disbanded units. The first calls for the return of the uniforms were sent last June, and then in July, August, October, and December. The response was scant, although the notice stated that the uniforms could also be returned by members of the families of military registrants. According to the records of the military section, uniforms were not returned by 970 registrants of the Novi Pazar Partizan Unit and 1,167 from the Raska, 200 from the Kosovska Mitrovica, and 200 from the Novi Pazar Banja war units.

Police at the Service of the Boycott

The call-up of military registrants itself requires a great deal of work, time, and expense, especially when it is repeated several times. This applies equally to registrants and draftees. Although the military section sends out the draft calls a month in advance, the Muslims in that region do not receive them, not even when it is a call to return uniforms. This is a case of simple evasion of receipt of the notice. There are cases when the military registrant "is not at home," when the door is not open to the postman.... The military section has tried in various ways to deliver the notices, but without success, because the registrants were notified in advance. It is almost an open secret that the Muslims have a parallel notification system that is much faster than the courier who delivers the notices. The police in the opstinas is mixed, and if the military section requests that someone from the ranks of the Muslims be brought in, someone is always found who will inform the registrant being sought, so he hides and is not at home when they come.

In 1992, there were 922 notices sent out to draftees for induction into the army (they were all Muslims from the regions of Sjenica, Tutin, and Novi Pazar), but almost all the notices were returned. Major Radisav Andjelkovic, assistant commander of the military section for required military service, attempted to improve the situation through direct contact with the Muslims. He visited the local communities of Dugo Poljana and Razdaginja in Sjenica Opstina and Delimedje and Leskova in Tutin Opstina. The Muslims in those towns told him openly that they would not go into the "Chetnik army" and that that was an "occupying army."

Last year, 160 decisions were made to postpone military service on the basis of documents filed. Because a large number of draftees have confirmation that they are full-time students in Pristina, a check was made, and the response was that most of them are not attending school, but dropped out of regular studies a few years ago.

At the time of the mobilization, 240 vehicles on the list were requisitioned. An offer was made to all the Muslims who brought those vehicles to remain in the service as

drivers, but not a one consented. However, it is not only the Muslims who are refusing mobilization.

The Double Standard of the Courts

The military authorities have not succeeded in bringing the Muslims together to discharge their obligation. The authorities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have not supported them in this. Charges have been filed with opstina courts, which are required to conduct proceedings on the order of the military authorities, but the courts have not been "disposed" to take action. A total of 1,130 proceedings were instituted against draftees and military registrants, and the courts stayed 149 of them. In Novi Pazar, for example, 267 misdemeanor charges were filed, 14 were stayed, and punishment was imposed in 45, 18 of them with imprisonment and one with a fine. Charges were filed in December 1991, and they are still sitting in Novi Pazar. In Tutin Opstina, 340 cases were instituted. Prison sentences were imposed on 28 and proceedings were stayed concerning two military registrants. Charges were also filed against two draftees. In Sjenica Opstina, only the judge Dragan Kuc is cooperating with the military authorities and is doing his job conscientiously. Whenever a judge is a Muslim, Andjelkovic says, things are neither done on time nor does the punishment fit the crime.

Criminal charges were filed in November 1991 against Sulejman Ugljanin, head of the SDA [Democratic Action Party], and Rasim Ljajic, SDA secretary, but the court has done nothing, which means that the courts have a double standard toward military registrants. But it is certain, Andjelkovic says, that if the court convicted them, this would have a favorable effect on the others and the situation would not be so difficult at this moment.

The military section has not granted consent for the issue of passports to many military registrants and draftees who wanted to go abroad to avoid military service. However, the young men who still have not registered for the draft are receiving passports, and the military section has no record of them.

It is not difficult to figure out what a complete Muslim boycott of military service means under the conditions of Sandzak, when one already knows that the reformation of units has not been altogether completed, but the intelligence and draft service of the SDA and MBO [Organization of Bosnian Muslims] does exist, and when we mention the figure of about 15,000 armed Muslims who are in units that have largely been furnished with quartermaster supplies and protective equipment that was not returned.

Serb Money Reportedly Going From Cyprus to Moscow

93BA0684C Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 93 p 13

[Article by Inoslav Besker: "Italy: Cold Shower for Peace Efforts in the Balkans: Money From Cyprus to Moscow?"]

[Text] A journalist from the newspaper LA REPUBBLICA, Viola, now appeals for Western prudence and moderation.

Rome—The resolution by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation to impose sanctions on Croatia is a result of the enormous sums of money that the Serbian rulers have sent from Cyprus into Moscow pockets, while its main consequence is that it has threatened "one of the rare positive results in recent months—the weakening of the regime in Belgrade." This is a cold shower for peace efforts in the former Yugoslavia, the highest-circulation Italian daily, Rome's LA REPUBBLICA, writes in an editorial.

After visiting Zagreb recently and writing an optimistic editorial from there, the newspaper's commentator Sandro Viola is now writing in a similar tone from Belgrade. Despite the quoted editorial passages (according to which "there has been talk of a pro-Serbian 'lobby' in the Moscow parliament for months now"), "despite the vote by the Russian parliament," which "threw out of balance the moves by Western mediators Vance, Owen, and Bartholomew," it is nevertheless "possible when looking from Belgrade as well to discern some light on the road of negotiation. Here, as in Zagreb, many are convinced that conditions for achieving an end to the war have never been like they are now."

Quoting Mihailo Markovic, a professor who crossed the road from Marxist thinker to national-fascist functionary and adviser to Milosevic, Viola declares that no one in the Belgrade government is talking any more about a "unified Serbian state," and thus "Greater Serbia." "The primary goals had to be reexamined," says Markovic. "Now we ask only that Serbs in Croatia achieve the status of a minority guaranteed by international bodies."

Viola, a long-time Belgrade guest, does not mention that this condition has been formally met, because it was emphasized as a condition for a positive opinion on recognition (and its fulfillment was verified) by the Badinter Commission (then undercut in the Macedonian question). Of course, Viola also fails to mention that even formal autonomy can be trampled and ridiculed, as in Kosovo. In short, the Italian journalist does not attempt to evaluate the quality of the emperor's new clothes.

Viola quotes Komnenic (considering his Party of Serbian Renewal the "biggest party of the democratic opposition") as well as some anonymous "but reliable" sources in order to conclude that Milosevic knows that he cannot wage war on so many fronts, that he lacks the money to finance the "Krajinans," and that his success in the elections allowed him to get rid of Panic and take upon himself the role of conciliator and credible interlocutor with the West. The only politician with whom he spoke who was pessimistic regarding these prospects was Mirjana Markovic of the SKPJ [League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia], who privately is Milosevic's wife.

Because of all this, Viola (very prominent in various personal editions of Farnesina) is now appealing for Western prudence and moderation.

Serbia Faced With Great Shortage of Drugs

93BA0684E Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Feb 93 p 28

[Article by B. Popovic: "Serbia Faces Major Drug Shortage"]

[Text] Belgrade—Judging from the ever-smaller reserves of drugs and sanitary materials, the Serbian health care system is threatened by serious shortages, and it is entirely possible that hospitals will again have to get by as best they know how and are able.

The "Dr. Laza Lazarevic" Neuropsychiatric Hospital has been out of drugs for a long time now. The small quantities that came from humanitarian aid or donors have long since been depleted. So-called long-acting medicines, which are used with the most serious mental patients and with which doctors keep several thousand patients under control in Belgrade alone, are being replaced by others. The effects are significantly poorer, and the results of treatment are uncertain.

At the UKC Institute for Neurosurgery, reserves of suture material are running out. According to Institute director Dr. Vasa Antunovic, however, the problem that is "catching up" with the health care system is that of spare parts for imported medical equipment. At this institute, for example, it was very difficult to repair a scanner that is almost more important than drugs, because it provides precise diagnoses and localizes the point of intervention.

The "Zvezdara" Clinical Hospital Center has the same problem. The scanner does not work because of one tube, there are no reserves of drugs, and many types are running out. Since once again there is no money, explained this institution's director, Dr. Branko Joksimovic, there are no reserves, and the supply situation goes from one day to the next. Once again suppliers are demanding payment up front, and health care institutions do not have the money, so that, for example, the "need" for hemodialysis needles alone at this clinical hospital center increased over the course of a week from 8 million to 17 million dinars.

"You cannot say as a generalization that there are genuine drug shortages," says Dr. Dusan Popovac, the director of the Belgrade City Institute for Lung Disease and Antitubercular Care. This is because many medicines are available at private pharmacies, and for people with respiratory diseases the problem is the price. For example, asthma spray costs 60,000 dinars, so that fewer and fewer patients are able to buy it. As far as drugs for tuberculosis are concerned, they are available.

At the Military-Medical Academy [VMA], shortages of some drugs are being felt, despite the fact that many medicines are produced at this institution. The sanctions have contributed to the lack of repairs to equipment for which the parts are already paid for. Thus, there are two scanners and a machine for breaking up stones that are not working. According to the head of the VMA, Prof. Dr. Jovan Bijelic, many reagents and solutions necessary for laboratory analysis are also running out.

Serbia's Electric Power Problems Viewed

93BA0686D Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 93 p 9

[Article by Momcilo Cebalovic: "Why Power Rates Are Going Up"]

[Text] According to sources in the Fuel and Power Ministry, power rates are going up tomorrow 144 percent. We have done very well, at least for the present, although we will not escape a new increase in power rates, and that will come very soon. Incidentally, price changes of such high percentages are no innovation for us, we have already become accustomed to them. This time, the power people seemed to have had an easier time than before in convincing the Serbian government that this "upward leap" is indispensable. The credit for this goes to the arguments which for the first time, at least written in this fashion, have been in the official proposal to the government which was drafted by the Fuel and Power Ministry. But we should not forget either that the new prime minister was for several years the fuel and power minister and that the new minister comes from the EPS [Electric Power Industry of Serbia].

Investments per kilowatt [kW] of power amount to $2,101. An installed electric radiator has a power rating of four kW, so it requires an investment of $10,500 in the electric power system. The electric radiator can be purchased for $200. Everyone can buy one and connect it to the electric power grid without telling anyone.

One Egg Is Equivalent to 32 Kg of Coal

In the production of 1 kilowatt-hour [kWh] at a coal-fired TE [thermal electric power plant], 1.6 kg of lignite are consumed with transportation over a distance of 12.2 km, and then 8.3 grams of liquid fuels to start up motors and for the production of power and to remove four cubic meters of overburden and carry it another 4.2 km....

These are some of the arguments which the ministry placed before the government. If we now know what it takes to produce one kWh of power, let us look at what certain other commodities cost, and then compare them to the price of the kilowatt-hour.

An egg costs 1,100 dinars. At the average price per kilowatt-hour we have had up to now (about 52 dinars/kWh), we realize that an egg costs the same as 20 kWh, and that amount of current takes about 32 kg of lignite. Or, one liter of "free" gasoline costs about 13,000 dinars, and this is equal to the price of 240 kWh, or the value of 384 kg of lignite from Serbian mines. A piece of chewing gum (600 dinars, the poorer one, and this was a few days ago) corresponds to a value of 11 kWh, or 17.6 kg of coal.

In the ministry's material (they did not mention the chewing gum), we also find a comparison of the price of one metric ton of coal to certain commodities. The figures apply to the period before the recent price increases of coal, cigarettes, and meat, and these are the producer prices of coal which are paid by the electric power industry. Thus, one ton of coal for the public is equal to five packages of cigarettes, 4 liters of gasoline on the open market, a 10-kg bottle of butane, one kg of meat, 1.7 kg of cheese, or 400 grams of coffee. The bill for average household consumption (not including electric heat) of 400 kWh is 26,800 dinars. That, the ministry writes to the government, corresponds to the value of 33 eggs (that was a few days ago, and now it is 25 eggs), five packages of cigarettes (now two and a half), one kg of meat, 10 liters of milk....

The comparisons could go on for days. The government also received a report from the EPS stating that the price of power in Serbia is only 40 percent of what it is in Montenegro, about one-thirteenth of the rates in the republics of the former SFRY, and about one-eighth of export prices. If the parity of the price of power had been maintained from the period 1986-91 (then Serbia was complaining of the depressed power rates set by the federal government), which was about 50 percent, the total revenue of the electric power industry in 1992 would have been more than fourfold greater in nominal terms, which means an increase of $1.1 billion! The revenues lost on that basis for January and February are estimated at about $110 million. All of this has been "siphoned off" into other industries, they say at the EPS.

Obligations under short-term credits in the period January-March 1993 amount to 177 billion dinars, which is 63 percent of the anticipated revenues, they continue their arguments addressed to the government. They mention difficulties obtaining parts, petroleum products, equipment.... Nor do they omit the tardy payment by protected consumers (public services), discounts which in the first two months of this year cost them 11.6 billion dinars, or 6 percent of revenues.

There is a story to itself in the "transformation into a founding investment of uncollected claims for power delivered to certain consumers" (the "famous" Bozovic model of transformation), so in the foreseeable future the EPS cannot expect any income from those securities. They have invested 45 billion dinars on that basis.

The loss on the year-end statement for last year will be about 180 billion dinars, which is at the level of the revenues realized. Depreciation calculated at the minimum rates amounts to about 70 percent of revenues, and for certain firms (Djerdap, TENT, Elektroistok) it is even at the level of revenues collected. Up to 1991, depreciation represented 18 percent of revenues.

Foreign Loan of $838 Million

And what is to be said about the debt of the EPS, which is based on a foreign loan of $838 million? Last year, $146 million came due, and another $138 million comes due for payment in 1993. None of that is being repaid. Without credits from primary issue and banks, they would not survive even today. The pattern of revenues and expenditures in January and February, when they were "short" 173 and 310 billion dinars, respectively, clearly indicates how money comes to them.

If this kind of rate policy continues, we can expect darkness next winter, say the experts of the EPS. We asked Dr. Vladimir Zivanovic, fuel and power minister, who until recently was the assistant general director of the EPS, whether it is all really so "gloomy":

"It is true," the minister replied. "But with the measures of the government that are to follow, the EPS must improve its internal organization, must optimize.... A few percentage points of savings in such a system mean a great deal. Along with other things, there is the substitution of imported equipment and parts with domestic goods, but only under economically acceptable conditions. Assuming that kind of effort, the EPS will have the support of the government and the ministry."

We have learned that the EPS will have repayment of the credit from primary issue deferred, that $15 million will be found to purchase replacement parts, that rate policy will be borne in mind, that 90 billion dinars will be found to prepare coal production and stockpiles of coal....

"They will be furnished the necessary petroleum products, chemicals, lubricants.... And the EPS will have to exchange power for those goods, to find its own way. There will also be work for underground mines (reduction of overhead from 30:70 to 20:80).... There are mines where they have the same number of personnel employed underground and in the administration." Zivanovic explains the tasks of the EPS.

The government will do everything to stimulate cooperation with neighboring and other electric power industries so as to increase the safety of the system's operation. We asked about linkage to the electric power systems of East Europe, because we are separated from West Europe:

"Work is being done on that," Zivanovic replies, confirming that then our system will be safer than now, but still less than if it were connected in the West.

The disparity is incomprehensibly low, but it cannot be removed all at once, he feels, announcing that this is

possible only when the economy becomes more lively and there is a mild rise in the standard of living of the population.

Does this mean that power will increase by at least percentage points over monthly inflation every month?

"Draw the conclusion yourself," was the answer we received from Dr. Vladimir Zivanovic, the new fuel and power minister.

Because we were left to draw our own conclusion, thus it is up to consumers to conclude whether it is possible to eliminate the disparity when hyperinflation is "shaking" us, and who if anyone will be able to pay the kind of bills that are being prepared?

'Cossacks' Reportedly Fighting With Serbs

93BA0671A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 93 p 7

[Article by Perica Vucinic: "The Times Are Restless, And We Are Too"]

[Text] Cossacks!? They have come, and that is the only thing that is certain. Everything else, especially an estimate of how many of them there are, is speculation based on the myth that has spread along with them. Those who are afraid of them, as well as those who are inspired—because of the assistance that is coming from "Mother Russia"—say that there are over 2,000 of them and that they are everywhere. There are no more than several dozen of them, however, and they are fighting along with the Serbs in the region near the bank of the Drina, with six of them in Hercegovina.

The "numerical expansion" started precisely with these six from Hercegovina. "How many of you are there?" asked a female U.S. reporter. "As many as necessary," they answered. "More than 1,000?" "Yes," was the answer, and thus a story went out to the world about 2,500 Russian Cossacks, volunteers who are fighting in the remote Bosnian mountains.

We saw them in Skelani, where they have obtained a house for "headquarters needs," and on which their yellow-blue-red tricolor flag is already waving—yellow, as the color of the Don Cossacks, blue for the Kalmyks, and red, which symbolizes the peasants. In the left corner a sign is missing—the blue stag, which, pierced by an arrow, is standing. That is the symbol of the Cossack; he never falls to his knees.

They are not in the traditional uniforms. They are dressed in the domestic olive-gray color, and in some respects, it can be seen that they are Russians—at least, it can be seen that they are not from here. In the Drina basin, where we met, they have acted calmly next to agitated Serbian fighters. They do not talk for the sake of talking, and they do not go anywhere at random if they have not previously decided where they are going.

Eight of them had a successful skirmish on Monday. They destroyed a column of Muslim soldiers. After the operation, they left their rifles and sat down in a cafe to think about where they would spend their bonus leave. Genya, Misha, Yevgenij, Sasha, Tolya, Khraf... the beer, brandy, and grilled meat quickly disappeared inside them. They also received intruders cordially. They did not boast about the operation, and did not carouse. That encouraged the intruders. The beer and brandy did not overcome them, and they only became merrier.

They have come, but they will not say how. It is a secret, and if someone gave it away, others would not be able to come after them. Russian law sanctions their arrival in Yugoslavia and participation in the battles as international terrorism, and the penalties are drastic. That is why they do not even say their full names. "The times are restless, and we are restless too," said Misha. This is his second war. Before he, he fought near the Dniester, like most of this group. The Moldovans captured Tolya in that war. Fortunately, he was without a weapon (a scout), so he was released after six months. His comrades say that the Romanians (that is what they call the Moldovans) tried with a power saw under his throat to force him to confess that he fought on the side of the Russians. Tolya sang a song about a crane. It is a song that has been passed down from knee to knee, and has grown to 120 stanzas. Recent generations added to it the one about some Komsomol activist who was beaten up—or else Tolya invented it, since the rest of them smiled.

"We do not like the communists," said Sasha, the personification of what is represented as a typical Russian—large, blond, with a thin blond mustache. He spent eight years in a "communist prison," and still does not know why. He thinks that it was simply because of the communist system.

"Almost all of us were in for a month or so," Genya said. "That was what the communist times were like. They were always afraid of the Cossacks, because they knew that we were for the Tsar." He listed the Cossack atamans who resisted the Red Army to the last moment—Kaledin, Kornyilov, Krasnov, and Denyikin. He also said that the great-grandson of the latter was now the chief don ataman.

"Against communism and for Christ. For Orthodoxy," Khraf spoke up out of the depth of his silence. "The Russians always watch the don, and the don keeps an eye out to see what the Russians are doing. But Moscow is doing badly. They declared the Serbs to be occupiers. Russia is afraid of the unification of the Slavic people. If Moscow says that some Orthodox people is an occupier, we know that Moscow is lying, and if Washington also agrees with that, we know that it is lying a hundred percent."

The conversation with them could by no means be kept in a "serious" framework, and that story about the female American reporter in Hercegovina occurred to

me. Then they told her, and she wrote, that they also had aircraft. They said all this easily and simply. The laconic answer to a question posed also raised further questions and posed a riddle. How is it that nothing excites them, they do not expand on a topic, they do not make a drama, and they do not make a fetish out of their story? It seems that everything is so simple and everything is already known, but they are here to correct what is known.

"One of our fighters died near Bratunac, together with a Serbian one, and we buried them next to each other."

And nothing more—that is the whole story. If someone expected Russian spiritual pathos, he was deceived.

"Did he have a family?"

"Yes. A wife and two children."

"What will happen to them?"

"We will help them."

Alyosha has a family. Khraf, Misha... all of them except Genya. All of their families are "insured" in this way, and no fear or anxiety about them can be observed because of that concern. Khraf has been at war ever since Vietnam. A former Red Army officer until he threw away his epaulets, he returned to the don, and he is waging this war only as a Cossack. He wears a cross underneath his shirt, an icon of the Virgin, and a tape with the words of a prayer. All of them have a strip and cross. The words "Help and preserve" are on the back of the silver cross.

Alyosha showed a photograph of his beautiful dark wife and beautiful blond son. The son resembles him. "Perhaps you will go to Russia. If you go to Russia, look for them and kiss them, just as you would your own wife and child when you return from a trip." And just as the only scene that threatened to be "formal" ended, he started to sing his song about the crane again. It was also taken up by the others, and the waitress gave them a sign to be quiet. They agreed, without objection.

That is one difference between them and a Serbian volunteer, who usually does not go anywhere without a weapon and mostly frightens (and "leaves an impression on") those around him. They do not threaten, do not play with grenades and weapons, and do not wave daggers. One Serbian fighter (how much anonymity there is in this story!) said that they only drew a knife when they were scouting, when the explosion of a bullet must not be heard.

Montenegro

Montenegrin 'Embassy' Opens in Knin

93BA0673C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 93 p 9

[Article by N. Trklja: "Montenegrin 'Embassy' in Knin"]

[Text] *When war reporters play; long nights in a darkened building, after returning from the battlefield.*

Knin, Feb—The news of the opening of a Montenegrin Embassy resounded a few days ago like the signals that designate general danger on a daily basis in Knin, the political and military capital of the RSK [Republic of Serbian Krajina]. The embassy from the Republic of Montenegro in the Republic of Serbian Krajina has become a central topic of downtown conversations in the town at the foot of the Sveti Spas mountain.

The residents of Knin, and others as well, were caught by surprise by this news. The first embassy, and moreover a Montenegrin one? Many people inquired of neighbors, acquaintances, and relatives about what was going on, what sort of decorations were being awarded, and where the embassy was. The reports were sparse and incomplete.

Suspecting with reason that they were involved, passersby on the streets kept asking the reporters who have swarmed to Knin from all parts of the world about the embassy and its affairs.

The experienced public speech workers, hardened war reporters, with diplomatic restraint, choosing their words, answered the questions of the passersby: "We don't know very much either. We heard that it is open, we contacted the official spokesman, and we will go see if we can find out."

The most persistent requested explanations from foreign correspondents—from Montenegro; who would know if not the Montenegrins?

"We are not opening embassies everywhere, just where and when it is necessary. And when should we open one if not now when things are most difficult, when there is a war? It has been located in the center—what center?—the epicenter of Knin, as it should be. We were the first to open one, because if ours is not the first, then we do not need it."

Montenegro's 'Embassy' in Knin is probably one of the most interesting editorial offices in this area, and certainly elsewhere as well. Reporters are turning their daily floundering through the ravines and crags of Dalmatian towns into night-time stories on the "embassy's" premises.

The "embassy" thus decided to hold special receptions—naturally, all at the appropriate level. The only thing checked was guests' possible ties with the local wineries.

The "embassy's" premises are modest, but beautifully furnished. In the central part, a prominent place belongs to a model of Njegos's chapel on Lovcen, the one that some sort of scoundrels destroyed, threw its stones into Ivanova Korita, and erected a marble heap in its place. Immediately next to it is an original sculpture of the "log of the revolution"—a piece of wood and a wooden ax in it. On the log there is a signature and date that symbolizes the beginning of the Knin Krajina's resistance.

When we went into the main hall for the reception, everyone knew his place. Foreign reporters, mostly from Belgrade, sat at the big table, and their colleagues from the Krajina at the tables along the wall. The Montenegrin correspondents, as the real hosts, stood and took care of everything. No one could leave without being honored.

One of the embassy's most attractive jobs is awarding decorations. Decorations are only awarded to deserving citizens, and naturally not even the Montenegrins give out decorations to everyone. Most of the people on the list of those decorated are donors, mainly people who have given gifts of the fruits of the vine.

There were also consolation prizes for those who did not succeed. Thus, one citizen (although he did not want to place himself in that category), wanting to smooth things over, because the wine spring dried up in the heat of the wine tasting about midnight, went foraging. He returned with an empty container, but nevertheless, appreciating his effort, the people gave him an award for his sacrifice—the sign of the Sutjeska FK [expansion unknown].

Naturally, in addition to wine issues, the Montenegrin Embassy also deals with other more important affairs of state. Receptions are important, but political matters are more important to the Montenegrins. Immediately after the arrival of reporters from Greece in Knin, the "embassy" invited them for an official visit. Slightly surprised, the Greek reporters accepted the invitation. After their arrival, they did not conceal their enthusiasm.

Their representative, delivering a toast greeting those present, stated that the second embassy that would be opened in Knin would be a Greek one.

And precisely at the moment when people were talking about important affairs of state, alarm sirens sounded. The assimilated guests were not very excited. They were used to it. Knin is in darkness anyway, and there is no need for a blackout.

The Greeks looked at each other and rushed for the door. It was in vain that their hosts tried to convince them that it was safest in the "embassy," because it was extraterritorial and shells did not fall there. Wishing to record everything, they left for their cameras and photographic equipment.

About 20 minutes later, they returned to the embassy. They realized that sometimes one should listen to the advice of more experienced colleagues.

Used to company, the public speech workers even under war conditions, are succeeding in creating an atmosphere like the one that they left behind in their editorial offices. Putting their heads on the line, during the day they go to the front line, but at night they go to the "embassy." They claim that it is easier for them to function that way.

Kosovo

Agani Deems Autonomy Status 'Unacceptable'

AU1503082793 Pristina KOSOVO DAILY REPORT Nr. 50 in English 12 Mar 93

[Unattributed report issued by the Democratic League of Kosovo: "From the Regular LDK Press Conference"]

[Text] Speaking today at the regular press conference in Pristina, Dr. Fehmi Agani, LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo] vice-chairman, briefed journalists on the current visit of Dr. Rugova to Italy and the Holy See. Commenting on Dr. Rugova's meeting with Italian Prime Minister Amato and the pope, Dr. Agani said that both the Italian and the Holy See showed concern for the situation in Kosovo.

The LDK vice-chairman commented also on slanders issued by Serbian mass media and paramilitary politicians who have begun another campaign of lies and threats against President Rugova. "The Serbian regime, aware of the fact that it has lost Kosovo, is left with nothing more than to increase its repression against Albanian political parties," Dr. Agani said.

Dr. Agani commented also on the Serbian announcement for reestablishing Kosovo's parliament made up by Serbs, assessing it to be another Serbian attempt to gain an initial position at the threshold of Geneva talks on the future status of Kosovo. Initially, the Serbian laws on the suspension of Kosovo's parliament and government were illegal and were never accepted by the Albanians, Dr. Agani said, adding that "the Kosovo parliament and government nevertheless continued their work in exile. The parliament of Kosovo passed the Constitution of the republic of Kosovo, elected a government of coalition and called on free general elections in Kosovo. The republic of Kosovo exists and it is not only a demand of the Albanians, as a majority, but also of the Muslims, Turks, and other, " he concluded.

Dr.Agani furthermore said that the idea for some kind of territorial autonomy would be unacceptable, and it only deepens and preserves problems in Kosovo. The question of Kosovo, Dr. Agani said, will only be solved by the presence of the international community, by which the Serbian way of deception would be excluded.

Rugova Discusses Visit to Italy, Pope

AU1303170293 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 12 Mar 93

[News conference by Kosovo President Ibrahim Rugova in Tirana on 12 March—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] President of the Republic of Kosovo Dr. Ibrahim Rugova ended his visit in Italy. On his way back to Pristina, he made a short stopover in Tirana. On this occasion, Dr. Rugova held a news conference at Rinas Airport with reporters of radio television, ATA, and other press organizations, which you will attend now:

[Reporter] Mr. President, will you give us a short summary of your recent activity concerning the main problems occurring in Kosovo?

[Rugova] We all know that the situation in Kosovo is very difficult, serious, and dangerous. I recently paid a visit to Italy. It was a very successful visit. These are the first contacts at the highest level established between Kosovo and Italy. What was most important during my whole visit was the meeting with the Holy Father Pope John Paul II. The environment was official and special. Of course, I held other meetings with Italian Prime Minister Amato, Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo, and the Foreign Policy Commission chairman of the Italian Parliament Antonio Carrilo. In all the talks with the Italian officials, we discussed the question of establishing cooperation between Kosovo and Italy. We presented our demands that UN troops be stationed in Kosovo and investigate the possibility of establishing a protectorate over Kosovo. Another topic was the question of humanitarian aid at these moments. It is important that humanitarian aid enter Kosovo legally, because so far nothing is allowed to enter Kosovo legally. I can say that the Italian side supports Kosovo on many topics. It is particularly interested in preventing a conflict in Kosovo and will do its utmost to see that the Kosovo question is presented at an international level, that is, in the European and international institutions. I can say that Italy is among the first EC countries that has given an opportunity to Kosovo and to me to meet the prime minister of an EC country, Mr. Amato. I am saying once again and I want to particularly stress the reception provided to me by the Holy Father. We talked about many topics involving Kosovo and the Albanian question. He showed understanding about the Kosovo issue and the Albanian question. We also talked about the visit that the Holy Father will soon make to Albania. Many Kosovars and Kosovo representatives will participate in this. Thank you.

[Reporter] Mr. President, we are talking about your visit and the talks you held with the Holy Father. As we have been informed, the Holy Father is particularly interested in the harmony among religions in Albania. Especially in this situation of the democratic processes, is the motto of the Renaissance leaders that the religion of an Albanian is Albanian nationalism still necessary, and is it guidance for the Albanians ?

[Rugova] Of course, this is true. We talked about the religious question of Albanians. It is clear that the Albanians have religious tendencies and have a great harmony and tolerance that is historically inherited. We should further cultivate this at these moments when religion is again free in Albania after a very long time. In Kosovo, this is being developed in a more gradual way. On this occasion, the contribution by the Justice and Peace French Association of Catholics called (?Friday) that visited Kosovo sometime ago should also be stressed. They assessed the relations between two Albanian religions, the Muslims and the Catholics, as being at the highest level, stressing, as you mentioned our Renaissance leaders, that we are brothers of the same flesh and blood and should allow a great tolerance and not induce tensions that have never separated but only united the Albanians.

[Reporter] Excuse me, as we are speaking about your talks with the pope, can you tell us what was the pope's message concerning the question of the Kosovo people and the Albanians living in their ethnic territories in former Yugoslavia, and especially on the conflict that is possible to spread there?

[Rugova] The Holy Father himself is interested in preventing something bad from happening in Kosovo. His message was that the question of Kosovo and other Albanian territories will be supported. Of course, the Holy Father has a great knowledge about Albanians.

[Reporter] What is your opinion about the new initiative by Mitterrand?

[Rugova] It seems that it is a question that all efforts should be done to achieve something, perhaps through talks or something else. The last diplomatic efforts that are being held will perhaps give hope to this.

[Reporter] Do you have any hope?

[Rugova] All means should be attempted for a solution.

[Reporter] Your visit to Italy immediately followed your meetings in France and the United States. In the United States you revealed for the first time a 10-point plan for an optimal solution to the Kosovo question. Do you think that this official tour of yours as head of state has given new dimensions to the question of Kosovo at an international level?

[Rugova] Of course, the question of Kosovo has been raised to a higher level, and with this visit and other contacts I hope that many of our demands will be examined and specific steps will be taken in Kosovo.

[Reporter] You participated in the conference held at the Carter Center in Atlanta, Georgia. Was the Kosovo issue treated as a national question or as a human rights issue?

[Rugova] Considering many crises in the world today, [words indistinct] of the crisis were discussed in Atlanta, including here Kosovo and Macedonia. In a special session, the Kosovo question was examined as a national, official, and human rights question, all of these

together. It is important that this question was discussed at the level of the Carter Center, which is among the most internationally well-known institutions of this kind.

[Reporter] Can you tell us what the present stance of Italy on Kosovo is after the talks you held with Italian Prime Minister Amato?

[Rugova] If you want me to say it concisely, it is positive. It is true that in Italy we had some contacts at other levels. Of course, the further integration of Albania into the international scene and the good relations that have been established between Albania and Italy have helped create a better understanding for the question of Kosovo.

[Reporter] I have another question. Will the Arbereshi [Albanians living in Calabria, Italy] element living there, making up a relative majority of the people, help the question of Kosovo to be well and fairly understood by the Italian political circles themselves?

[Rugova] This element can help even more. The Arbereshi people have contributed for many years, since 1981, on the question of Kosovo through their channels, people, and rallies. Kosovo and Albania should better consider this aspect, to organize the Arbereshi people and further involve the well-known Arbereshi people who are living in Rome and elsewhere in Italy.

[Reporter] Did you talk in Italy about the problem of deployment of UN and NATO peacekeeping forces in Kosovo to prevent the conflict, and what is the Italian position on this?

[Rugova] We talked about this question, and I hope that it will soon be examined.

[Reporter] How do you consider the pledge of the Albanian diplomacy on this?

[Rugova] Fortunately, I have repeated this several times, and I am saying it again now that the Albanian diplomacy is the new Albanian diplomacy that is closely involved in this. Of course, it is studying all opportunities it has at its disposal on the Kosovo question even through its own representatives. They are giving us Kosovars chances to have contacts in the world. It is important that among the first to be involved, Albania, as a state, has the right to establish and present this question as it is at the highest levels of the European institutions. We are never satisfied or rather self-satisfied with what we are doing. We will do more [words indistinct].

[Reporter] At the moment you came here, a part of the Albanian opposition represented in the parliament requested by a motion that the government present its resignation. How do you assess this?

[Rugova] Honestly, I think that we should give a government created sometime ago a chance to function. So far it has proved itself as a government that has made good steps. The assessments by the competent international institutions are positive. If we want to become accustomed to a nonrealistic life, with many parties and parliament, the people may ask the government to resign, but this should be done with strong reason. It is necessary that a pure opposition should understand the important moments for the nation and state at a certain time. That is why I appeal that every opposition should operate through reasonable arguments. Of course, at these important moments we often talk without arguments on the national question and other issues, but we should always work specifically, as the national question is very specific, and in certain situations we should maintain reasonable attitudes, that is, reasonable solutions.

Swedish Delegation Discusses Refugee Problems

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[Text] Tirana, March 13 (ATA)—A Swedish delegation for the emigration made up of Hakan Sandesj and Catherin Werl, representative of the Complaint Council, Olof Carlsted and Mickel Carlson from the Council of Emigration, Inger Johanson, second secretary at the Swedish Embassy in Belgrade, and Bjoro Walkman [all names as received], from the UN Supreme Secretariat for Refugees, is investigating the state in Kosovo and is gathering facts in regard to the problem of the Albanian refugees being presently in Sweden.

The Swedish delegation talked with representatives of the Albanian political parties, Dr. Fehmi Agani and Anton Kolaj, deputy chairmen of the Democratic League of Kosovo, Dr. Hivzi Islami, chairman of the Rural Party of Kosovo, and Dr. Shaqir Shaqiri and Dr. Ali Aliu, members of the Presidency of the DLK [Kosovo Democratic Alliance].

The representatives of the Albanian political parties of Kosovo briefed on the current situation in Kosovo. The Serb authorities in Kosovo constantly implement state terror. Along with the dismissal from work, banning of Albanian classes, Serbia takes other actions against the Albanian people in Kosovo.

Recently, hundreds of Albanian families and Albanians have been tortured in their homes and police stations while many Albanian youngsters are threatened with imprisonment because they have refused to take part in aggressive wars launched by Serbia. By means of terror Serbia carries out on a large scale ethnic cleansing in Kosovo. It is stationing in Kosovo Serb colonies from the territories of former Yugoslavia, particularly from Bosnia and Croatia.

They said that it is necessary to develop understanding with the Albanians who leave Kosovo because of systematic violence and terror. The evicted Albanians should be treated as refugees of violence. There is no sign of improving the situation as long as Serbia implements such a policy in regard to Kosovo. Meetings and even the meeting of the Assembly of Kosovo will not be allowed in Kosovo. The criticism and remarks of international community in regard to Serbia have not yielded results so far.